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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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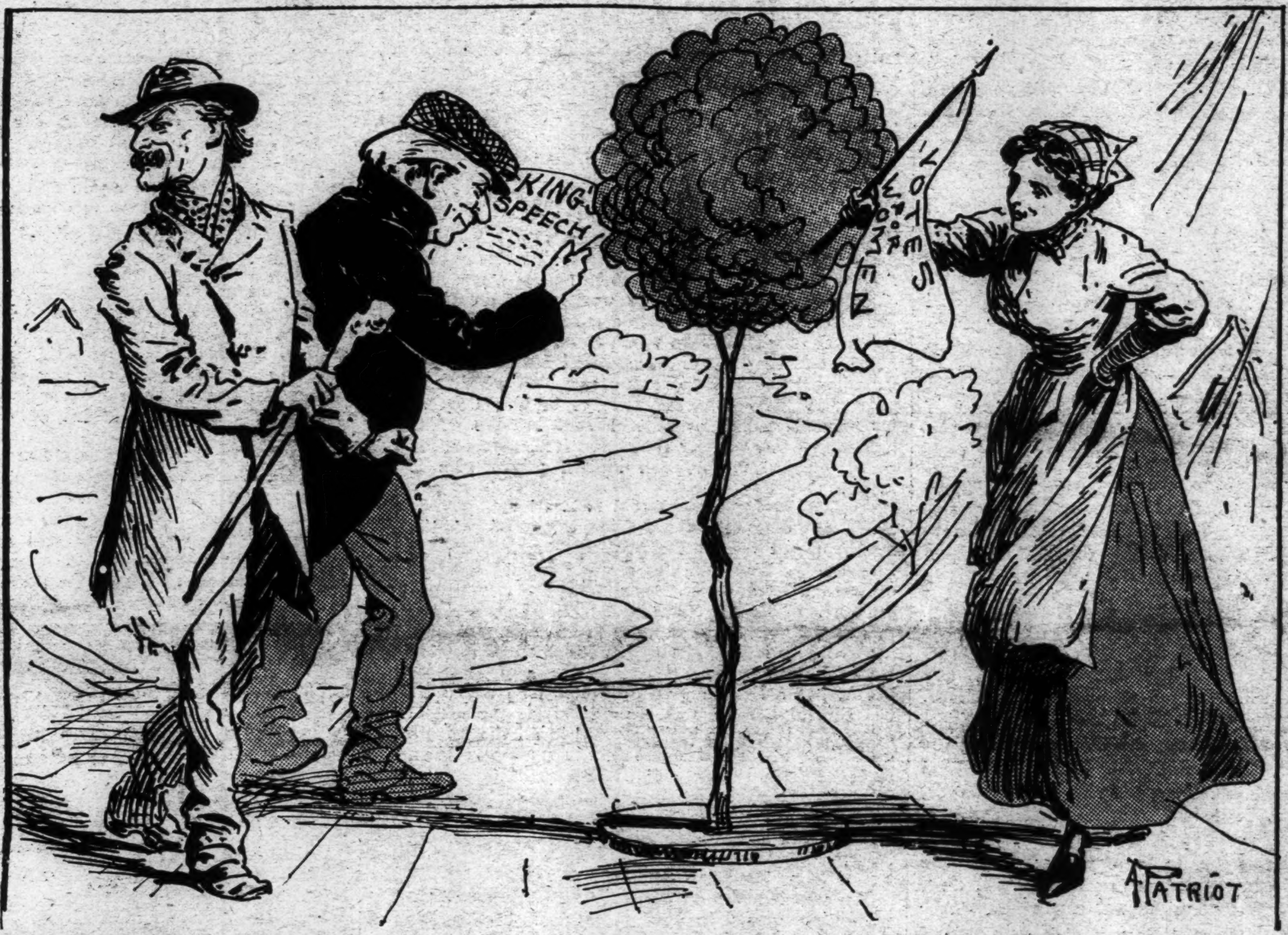
THE WESTMINSTER MELODRAMA



STAGE VILLAINS (walking about the Stage and pretending not to see the heroine): "Thank goodness, we've given that woman the slip at last."
VOICE FROM THE GODS: "Gar'n, Guv'nor! She's there under your nose all the time!"

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The new Session opened on Monday last. The King's Speech was read, and contained no reference of any kind to Woman Suffrage. The only new measures foreshadowed were Bills to deal with Plural Voting, Irish Land Purchase, Restriction of Child Employment, Education, and the control of the Feeble-minded.

The Plural Voting Bill

The first of these measures is designed to effect an alteration in the franchise laws, which Liberals maintain is both just and to their party advantage. Those who are fighting the battle for the enfranchisement of women take no sides upon the merits of this measure. But whether it be right or wrong, there can be no doubt that it is of insignificant importance compared with the great question of the exclusion of women from all participation in the political life of the country. And therefore we call on Woman Suffragists of all political parties to oppose this and every other Bill to alter the male franchise until such time as the Government are themselves prepared to introduce and carry a measure to enfranchise women.

The Education Bill

Another of the Bills promised in the King's Speech is one "for the development of a national system of education," which, according to P. W. W. in the *Daily News*, is to deal further with the question of half-timers, to provide for by-laws "adjusted separately to boys and girls" for compulsory attendance at evening schools, to secure physical development and many other reforms. And the Government actually proposes to make these changes in the law intimately affecting the lives of children without consulting the mothers, who out of all the nation are most fitted to express an opinion!

The Feeble Minded

Another measure promised is a Bill to deal with the feeble-minded, which will no doubt resemble the abandoned Bill of last session. This is a question to which many women of the country have devoted special attention and on which they have roused public opinion. But instead of meeting the glaring defects of our existing system in a reasonable way, the Government have seen fit to treat the subject as a means of enlarging the powers of the executive at the expense of the liberty of the subject. Such a question as this ought not to be handled except under the careful guidance of those who have made a study of it, and with the support of all sections of the community—women as well as men.

Employment of Girls Under Eighteen Years

A still more serious matter is the proposed measure to restrict street trading to boys over 17 and girls over 18. We do not express any opinion on the merits of the question, but we are quite certain that it is one on which the opinion of the mothers of the country ought to be taken into very careful consideration, and ought to receive even more weight than the opinion of men. If girls under 18 are to be forbidden to take part in decent legitimate occupation in the streets, then undoubtedly the age of consent ought also to be raised to the same figure. Otherwise the Bill will have the direct effect of driving friendless girls to the one street occupation which is still open to them. It will be a very grave scandal if this Bill is allowed to become law before women are given a voice in controlling the nation's affairs.

The Cat and Mouse Bill

The King's Speech is significant for its omission of all mention of another measure which has been foreshadowed both in the Press and in the speeches of some of the Cabinet Ministers; we refer to a coercion Bill designed to deal in a new manner **with Suffrage prisoners by releasing them after the hunger strike and re-arresting them, when they are sufficiently recovered, to serve a second term. We can well believe that the Cabinet are disinclined to give more publicity than they can help to this discreditable device, which more closely resembles the** methods of a cat torturing a mouse than the attempts of statesmen to deal with their political opponents. If the same forces which have prevented a forecast of the measure appearing in the King's Speech also succeed in choking the Bill before birth, the country will be saved from a stain upon its honour, and the Government from adding a further disgraceful chapter to its already ugly record in the matter of Suffrage prisoners.

Lord Hugh Cecil Denounces the Premier

A scathing criticism upon the Prime Minister for his treatment of the Woman Suffrage question was delivered by Lord Hugh Cecil in the course of the debate on the address. The question of Woman Suffrage, he said, had been greatly discussed in the country, and people were profoundly dissatisfied that no adequate alternative to the Premier's frustrated pledge had been offered. He contrasted the way the Government were dealing with their obligation of honour (Woman Suffrage) with that in which they were dealing with their obligation of interest (Plural Voting). In a fine satirical passage he said that if he were called upon to sing the praises of the Prime Minister he should "speak a great deal about his brilliant public speaking, but very little about his elevated sense of political honour." "Ministerial assurances," he continued, "are part of Parliamentary currency. If they go down in value the whole system of Parliament begins to be affected very much as, when currency is depreciated, trade gets out of order." A longer extract from his speech is given on page 338.

Petitioning the King

During the progress of the King from Buckingham Palace to the Houses of Parliament five women made an attempt to approach his carriage in order to present a petition to him with regard to Woman Suffrage. It is characteristic of the attitude of a section of the Press that this incident was referred to as an "insult to the King," and in one case as "attack upon the King." The women were promptly arrested and taken before the magistrate, and charged with a breach of the police regulations. They pleaded the Bill of Rights, by which a subject cannot be arrested or imprisoned for petitioning the King. Their plea was disregarded and they were sentenced, in default of agreeing to be bound over, to various terms of imprisonment—Miss Gertrude Vaughan, who is said to have got within three yards of the Royal carriage, to three weeks; Mrs. Dove Wilcox and Miss Stuart to a month; and Miss Barnes and Miss Richardson to three weeks. They denied all intention whatever of offering anything in the nature of insult to the person of His Majesty.

Mr. Asquith Compared to a Welsher

Some strong things were said on Friday evening at the meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at the Kensington Town Hall. Mrs. Fawcett said that Mr. Asquith, within a month of giving them certain promises, had taken steps to render the fulfilment of those promises impossible. Mrs. Swanwick said the imputation of deep dishonour lay on the shoulders of the Prime Minister; he had been like a gambler who put a bigger stake down than he owned, and when he found he had lost behaved as a welsher who refused to pay his just debts because he knew there was no law to enforce them. We are glad that there is no mincing of words on this matter, and those who have studied the real facts of the situation carefully for themselves will realise that they do not in the slightest degree overstep the bare truth.

By-election Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.

When it comes to action, however, we find ourselves still disappointed with what the N.U.W.S.S. propose to do. The full and detailed explanation given by Lord Lytton leaves us with the impression that the new policy will not differ very materially from the old. The only important change is that under no circumstances will Liberal candidates be supported, and therefore we shall not have at by-elections where Liberals are standing that perpetual conflict between rival Suffrage societies which has been the despair of those who wanted to bring effective pressure on the electors to weaken the Government. For the rest, we fear that the anti-Government policy of the Union is hedged about by so many restrictions and exceptions that, except where Labour candidates are standing, it will be reduced to a dead letter.

The Labour Party

So far as support of the Labour Party is concerned, we showed last week that as an integral part of the Coalition they were in fact helping to retain the Government in power, and that being so, to support them was contrary to the declared principle of trying to shorten the life of the Cabinet. This criticism was taken up at the meeting by Mr. Philip Snowden, who, if we understand him aright, denied that the party were "an integral part of the Coalition." We confess to a complete failure to appreciate Mr. Snowden's contention. If we had said that they were an integral part of the Liberal Party we should have been subject to correction, but the Coalition is universally recognised as consisting of the Liberals, the Irish and the Labour men; its normal majority is reckoned on this basis, and if the Labour Party were consistently to vote against the Government defeat would speedily follow.

Mr. Snowden's Contention

But, says Mr. Snowden, the Party only vote with the Government because they approve of what it does, not because they are Government henchmen. If that were strictly accurate it would seem to follow that the difference between Liberal and Labour policy was a very fine one, seeing that during the last three years Labour men have so rarely voted as a party against the Government. But is it strictly accurate? Was it the case in all the divisions on the Insurance Bill that the Labour Party voted on the merits of the amendments in question? Was it the case with all the amendments to the Home Rule Bill? In particular, was it the case in voting for the franchise clause to that Bill when Mr. Snowden's amendment to include women was defeated? We are afraid that there is a considerable element in the Labour Party—to which element Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the Chairman, himself belongs—who are undoubtedly adverse to taking any step which will jeopardise the continued existence of this Government; and so long as that element has the upper hand the Labour Party is not the free, independent party which Mr. Snowden himself might wish it to be.

The National Liberal Federation

We are amused to see, from a perusal of the agenda paper of the National Liberal Federation, that for the first time for many years all mention of Woman Suffrage is omitted from the official programme. This has no doubt been done for the purpose of preventing the note of discord from finding its way into the proceedings, for it is now realised that Woman Suffrage is no longer a subject for mirth, but a live issue which before long may split the Liberal Party. But though outside the official discussion, it will be hotly debated in all the private gatherings of delegates just in the same way that, excluded from the floor of the House of Commons, it is the one subject of discussion in the lobbies and smoking-room. Probably also, in some way or other, a means will be found of raising it in the Conference itself.

The "Nation" Faces Facts

We are glad to see that the *Nation* has not rested with making the impracticable proposal on which we commented adversely last week, but has again returned to the charge. The situation is fearlessly faced; the editor refers to the possibility of the militant agitation dying down, and frankly says it is unlikely:—

> It is not the habit of such agitations to perish absolutely still-born, especially when the cause to which they do extreme moral injury is sound, and its success inevitable, and mere repression makes them flare up again. Moreover, an Administration partly composed of suffragists is in no case to concert and to carry out a policy of undiluted coercion. . . . In a sense, therefore, the Liberal Government and the Liberal Party are intimidated and embarrassed. The law is being set at nought; offences are wantonly committed, and their punishment cleverly evaded.

For the Government to yield to undiluted coercion will then, he concludes, be to risk the disaster which threatens Liberal Administrations at issue with political agitations which have taken on a criminal complexion. "The Government have their special responsibility," he says, "and we may well ask them, if they cannot guarantee the passage of the new Suffrage Bill nor graft on to it a scheme of local option, what they propose to do?"

The Militant Agitation

The past week has seen an extension of the campaign of militant suffragism in many directions. Two railway stations at Saunderton and Croxley Heath have been burnt to the ground; telegraph and telephone wires have been cut in many places; a large number of letters have been destroyed or injured; and various other methods of interfering with the normal life of the community have been adopted. Meanwhile, other women have been taking up the policy of militancy without violence, and spreading wider the understanding of the growing discontent. There have been some signs of retaliatory measures on the part of the hooligan element in the crowd, but the respectable members of the community have held aloof, while the so-called "great hoax on the Suffragettes" has only convinced a wider public that some remedy for the present state of affairs must speedily be found.

Women to be Admitted to Courts of Law

The disgraceful attempt of the Recorder to make a practice of excluding all women from his court during the trial of Suffragists has, we are glad to see, been overruled, but not until the *Manchester Guardian* had published two strong leading articles denouncing his claim to do so, and other adverse comments had been made in the *Daily News* and elsewhere. The announcement of the future policy at the Old Bailey is contained in a letter sent on behalf of the Recorder to the Women's Freedom League, who had communicated with him on the subject, and states that "the Commissioners of the Central Criminal Court have recently had the matter under their consideration, and in future a reasonable number of women will be admitted to these trials."

Forcible Feeding in Prison

We direct attention to the correspondence which we publish this week between Mr. McKenna and Mr. Harben with regard to the forcible feeding of Miss Billinghurst, in which the Home Secretary endeavours to make light of the suffering and danger entailed by this barbarous practice. When it is realised that he contends that her mouth was forced open *with all gentleness* his defence becomes so absurd as to be ludicrous if it were not so terribly tragic. Miss Lenton's condition is somewhat improved, and there is reason to hope that the lung trouble from which she has suffered since her release will not have fatal effects.

How to Help "Votes for Women"

We remind our readers again this week of the invaluable service which they can render this paper by placing their orders for all spring custom with one or other of the firms which advertise in these columns. If in addition to this they will take the opportunity of informing the manager of the establishment why their custom is given to his firm they will be confirming his judgment in selecting Votes for Women as an advertisement medium. We shall be glad to hear from any of our readers who have transferred their custom to one of our advertisers in consequence of his advertisement in our columns.

The Private Members' Bill

On Wednesday afternoon the ballot of private Members for dates for Bills was taken in the House of Commons. No effective place was secured by any suffrage member. Mr. Asquith will therefore, in order to fulfil his promise, have to provide a special day for the second reading of the Suffrage Bill.

The Fashion for
SHOT-CHECK
WHIPCORD

The new shot-check whipcords are most effective, having a lovely sheen, which gives them a most "dressy" appearance equal to that of a rich silk. We have introduced into these materials a large over-check of contrasting colours, which makes them particularly suitable for dressy wraps.

WRAP (as sketch), in the new overcheck shot materials, perfectly cut and tailored.

5GNS.

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Debenham & Freebody
Wigmore Street. London. w

Famous for over a Century for Taste, for Quality, for Value.

GOVERNMENT SUES MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Writ Served on Tuesday last at the Offices of "Votes for Women"

After four and a half months the Government have taken a further step with regard to the costs of the prosecution of the conspiracy trial at the Old Bailey in May of last year.

On Tuesday last a writ was served on Mr. Pethick Lawrence as he was entering the offices of VOTES FOR WOMEN in Red Lion Court. The writ, which we give in full below, was for the sum of £608 5s. 6d., the balance of the amount claimed by the Director of Public Prosecutions on account of the expenses of the prosecution after deducting the sum realised by the sale of furniture and effects at the Mascot, Holmwood, Surrey, Mr. Lawrence's private house.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

KINGS BENCH DIVISION.

1913, D, No. 367.

BETWEEN
The Director of Public Prosecutions,
Plaintiff,
and
Frederick William Pethick Lawrence,
Defendant.

George the Fifth by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, TO

Frederick William Pethick Lawrence
of Clements Inn
in the County of London.

WE COMMAND YOU, that within eight days after the service of this writ on you inclusive of the day of such service, you do cause an appearance to be entered for you in an action at the suit of

The Director of Public Prosecutions

And take notice that in default of your so doing, the Plaintiff may proceed therein and judgment may be given in your absence.

Witness, Richard Burdon, Viscount Haldane of Cloan, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the 11th day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and thirteen.

STATEMENT OF CLAIM.

THE PLAINTIFF'S CLAIM is for £608 5s. 8d., the balance of the amount of the taxed Costs which the Defendant was by order of the Central Criminal Court made in pursuance of the Statue 8 Edward VII. c 15 Sec. 6 and dated the 14th May, 1912, ordered to pay the Plaintiff after giving credit for the amount already recovered by the Plaintiff by sale under a Writ of Fieri Facias.

PARTICULARS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Amount af tax Costs as per Taxing Master's Certificate dated 6th July, 1912							893	5	2
Less Gross proceeds of sale				306	13	0			
Sheriff's poundage ...	10	3	6						
Cost of Execution......	1	10	0						
				11	13	6			
							284	19	6
The Plaintiff's Claim.....							£608	5	8

(Signed) Treasury Solicitor.

And the Sum of £3 3s. (or such sum as may be allowed on taxation), for costs; and also, in case the plaintiff obtains an order for substituted service, a further sum of £2 5s. If the amount claimed be paid to the plaintiff or his solicitor within four days from the service hereof, further proceedings will be stayed.

THIS WRIT was issued by The Treasury Solicitor
of and
whose address for service is } 276, Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, W.C.
Solicitor for the said plaintiff who resides at Whitehall, S.W.

The facts of the case, as our readers will remember, are as follows: In November, 1911, and March, 1912, demonstrations of women took place in London, in the course of which a large number of shop windows in Oxford Street, Regent Street, Piccadilly, Cockspur Street, the Strand, and elsewhere were broken. In addition to the arrests and sentences of the women who were guilty of these actions, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst on a charge of conspiracy, in conjunction with Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke, who were already in prison. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were arrested, but Miss Christabel Pankhurst escaped to Paris, and Mrs. Tuke was shortly afterwards discharged.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were tried at the Old Bailey in May, and were found guilty by the jury, who, however, added a rider commending them to clemency on account of the "purity of their motives." They were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, and Mr. Justice Coleridge further imposed on Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Pethick Lawrence the costs of the prosecution. All three defendants went to prison, but owing to world-wide protest were transferred at the end of three weeks to the first division. Finding, however, that the women sentenced with them were still treated as common criminals and were adopting the hunger strike as a protest, they also adopted a sympathetic hunger strike; Mrs. Pankhurst was released at the end of four days, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (who were both forcibly fed) after eight and five days respectively, as the Home Secretary feared that life could not longer be sustained in prison.

Shortly after their release, while all of them were too ill to attend to any business, the Director of Public Prosecutions presented to Mr. Marshall, the solicitor for the prisoners, the bill of prosecution costs, amounting to £893 5s. 2d. To this was shortly afterwards added a Bill from the County Council for the cost of prosecution witnesses, amounting to over £200. Mr. Marshall replied that the prisoners were too ill to be consulted.

Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence left England on a visit to Canada to recover their health. While they were there the Government pounced down upon Mr. Pethick Lawrence's house in Holmwood, and put bailiffs into possession. They remained in possession during the whole time of Mr. Lawrence's absence in Canada and for some weeks after his return. Finally, on October 31, an auction was held of all the furniture and movables in the house and garden, a total sum of £306 13s., as stated on the writ, being obtained. Large numbers of friends of the movement as well as the residents of the neighbourhood attended the sale, and both Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence made speeches, in the course of which they explained why they allowed their house to be broken up rather than pay the money.

Since that date up to the present time no step has been taken by the Government to recover the balance of the money either from Mrs. Pankhurst or from Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and no official information has even been given to Mr. Lawrence as to the amount still owing.

It is noteworthy that this new step for recovery is being taken at a time when judgments ordering the prosecution costs to be paid by the convicted prisoners have been made both against Miss Olive Wharry and Mr. Hugh Franklin.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence Addressing the Crowd at the Sale of his Household Goods at Holmwood, Surrey, October 31, 1912

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

So much is happening, both of a militant and a non-militant character, in the Suffrage movement at the present time that it becomes more important than ever to spread the circulation of a paper like VOTES FOR WOMEN, which, unlike the daily Press, does not suppress news, or misrepresent it, or comment upon it in an unfair way. Members of the Fellowship can do a great work for the movement by widening the sphere of our influence and bringing our paper to the notice of new readers at a moment when every effort is being made to induce the public to boycott or depreciate the whole agitation, and to incite the hooligan element in the streets to mob its supporters.

Letters reach us from members of the Fellowship in all parts, telling us how the paper is being appreciated. One writes to say that she thinks "the paper gets more interesting every week." She disposes of two dozen copies regularly, and has obtained four annual subscribers. Another sends us the following encouraging report:—

"I have delayed answering your letter as I wanted to tell you the result of the first week's sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN at the station bookstall. The poster has been well displayed and the paper started from last Friday week. I only ordered one dozen copies, as I knew that one other lady and myself were then the only regular customers for it. I'm glad to say that ten of the papers were sold, and one of these to a new annual subscriber."

Three Excellent Ways of Helping

Another correspondent tells us of three ways in which she is making VOTES FOR WOMEN known to fresh readers. Last week she presented a copy to twenty-four municipal women voters, none of whom had seen the paper before; and, she adds, "I am following this up by posting a second copy to them this week." She goes on to say that she has for some years supplied three copies to a public library; and lastly, that when she can find a good opportunity of making a present of a six months' subscription she does so, and in this way the paper now goes weekly both to Germany and South Africa. So the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, like the Votes for Women movement, is already putting "a girdle round the world."

We commend all these ways of helping the Cause to our readers, and would remind them of a further one—that of getting the VOTES FOR WOMEN poster displayed wherever there is a railway station, or a newsagent, or a newspaper pitch in the street. Public education is effected in this way, and the sale of the paper immensely increased. If every member of the Fellowship made up her mind to supply her own neighbourhood in this way the country would soon be painted purple, white and green!

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To March 11, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	173	4	3
Miss Helen Comber..	0	5	0
Mrs. Pilcher	0	2	6
Miss Eleanor Barnes	5	0	0
Miss K. Corcoran ...	0	2	0
Miss Agnes Berwick	1	0	0
Mrs. Threader Chapman	0	1	0
Miss Garrard	0	1	0
Mrs. Inchbole.........	0	1	0
Mrs. Bentley McLeod	0	1	0
Mrs. Bertram	0	1	0
Miss C. Wroughton..	0	5	0
Miss I. C. Gorrie ...	0	2	0
Mrs. Neuth	0	2	0
"Kensington Pavement Artists," per Miss Rock	0	3	0
Total..............	180	5	9

HISTORY AND LAW BREAKERS

What Great Men Have Said

It would be but to misread the teachings of history if one were to suppose that any popular cause with a real grievance behind it could be suppressed in such a country as England by mere prosecutions and sentences.—**Justin McCarthy.**

If meetings have no effect—if the open and almost universal expression of opinion has no power on the Administration and the Legislature, then, inevitably, the minds of the people will seek other channels with a view to obtaining and securing the rights which are so contemptuously denied them. If I am wrong in believing this, then history is a lie from the beginning, and we have all been mistaken in our estimate of the causes out of which many of the great and deplorable transactions it has recorded have sprung.—**John Bright (in a letter written February 16, 1867).**

What, then, is the duty of an English Minister? To effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force.—**Lord Beaconsfield in 1844).**

ATTEMPT TO PRESENT A PETITION TO THE KING

Ancient Constitutional Right Denied to Women—Five Petitioners Sent to Prison—Women Treated as Outlaws, not Persons

It is the right of the subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.—*Bill of Rights.*

The British Constitution has been set on one side by the refusal to women of the right to present a petition to the reigning Sovereign. The right to petition, confirmed by the Bill of Rights, is an ancient privilege of the British subject, which, in the last hundred years or so, happens to have fallen almost into disuse, because the extension of the male franchise has given men a more effective means of voicing their grievances. This is not the case with women, who have not the vote as a means of making their grievances known. Again and again, when they break the law deliberately in order to draw attention to the fact that they are outlaws in their own country, they are told that all the constitutional methods of agitation are open to them, and that they should employ these, and these alone. When they do so, and endeavour to adopt the time-worn method of presenting a petition to their Sovereign, they are frustrated in their purpose, arrested for obstruction—for it appears that the Bill of Rights has been set aside in favour of a Police rule—and for refusing to give an undertaking "not to offend again"—which, as loyal British subjects, they could scarcely give—are sentenced to three weeks' or a month's imprisonment! Of course we are aware that the modern method of procedure is by way of a petition to the Home Secretary. But that way is for enfranchised men. When women adopt it and try to take their petition in person to the King's Representatives at Westminster, they are arrested equally for "obstruction."

Does the British Constitution Exist?

A Frenchman has said, "La Constitution Britannique? Ca n'existe pas!" And after what has just taken place we are inclined to agree with him. Either the British Constitution does not exist, or women should not exist! Clearly, the existence of the Bill of Rights has been forgotten, to judge by some of the wild utterances in the Press last Tuesday morning. "Suffragists' Attack on the King," ran the newsbill of the *Standard*, that prop of ancient Constitutional custom. "Suffragist Petition Hurled at the King," was the dramatic effort of the *Yorkshire Observer*. The *Yorkshire Post* had a better sense of the picturesque with its bill, which read as follows: "Their Majesties' Progress Stopped by Suffragettes." The *Daily Herald* was sarcastic, and rightly so. "Five Women Arrested for a *Heinous* Offence" was the wording of a headline. The *Morning Post*, evidently unconscious that these women were upholding one of those constitutional rights it is generally at such pains to champion when the championship is a party asset, began its leading article with:—"The opening of Parliament was marked by another instance of Suffragist folly. Unless these women are secret enemies of the cause they profess to serve, it is difficult to understand how they can continue their present tactics."

TEXT OF THE PETITION

The following is the text of the petition which several Suffragists attempted to present to the King and Queen on their way to the State Opening of Parliament on Monday, March 10:—

"The humble petition of some militant members of the Women's Social and Political Union to their Majesties King George and Queen Mary.

"May it please your Majesties, the militant movement for votes for women is endangering all forms of public and private property. It has also brought the administration of the law into contempt. It is proving impossible to enforce the law against the militant women, because these women are defying the law and its punishments. Men, too, are losing the respect for the law, the judges, and the punishment they inflict.

"All thinking persons are agreeing and impatiently waiting to see whether the Speech from the Throne will contain a promise of legislation whereby suffragists' violence and its consequences shall be brought to an end. With the keenest indignation they have seen it stated that the Government may bring forward a Coercion Bill, instead of striking at the root of the evil by giving votes to women. The unrest among women and their militant revolt can never be ended except by removing their discontent. Votes for women is the only cure for militancy. The revolting and futile policy of releasing hunger-strikers and re-arresting them would simply bring discredit upon the Minister responsible for it. Such treatment will never break the spirit of women, though it will very likely bring about a tragedy, for although women cannot be defeated they can be killed by persecution. If law and order are to be established in this realm, women must have the vote.

"We look to see in the gracious Speech from the Throne a message telling us that in the present session of Parliament a law will be enacted giving votes to women. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

The Brave Attempt

The five women who have gone to prison for attempting to present the above petition were Miss Dorothy Smith, Mrs. Lilian Dove Willcox, Miss Kathleen Paget, Miss Gertrude Vaughan (author), and Miss Grace Stuart (artist). They made the attempt in the Mall, just as the State Coach arrived opposite to Marlborough House and St. James's Palace. There was a dense crowd, in front of which were lines of police and Guards. To any ordinary observer it would have seemed impossible to get through the lines, and foolhardy to attempt it. Suffragettes, who do not know the meaning of impossibility, are not, however, deterred by lines of police or soldiery. They rushed forward as the coach approached, and five of them succeeded in breaking through the lines and getting close to the carriage. Each one held a copy of the petition, rolled up and tied with the colours, and they did their best to throw them into the carriage. One woman very nearly succeeded, and, according to one account, the Beefeaters were almost knocked over by her approach. Perhaps their ancient dress gave them a better sense than others of the constitutional rights of voteless citizens, and less respect for police regulations, so that they did not present their halberds quite so energetically as they might have done. But she, too, was frustrated in her attempt, and taken to Cannon Row with the others. The King and Queen turned their heads to see what the disturbance was about, and the procession went on its way.

"An Insult to the King"

One of the evening papers having characterised the incident as "An Insult to the King," Mrs. Pankhurst, in her speech at the Pavilion on Monday afternoon, said very justly that all through the history of this country the fact had been recorded that from time to time persons suffering from grievances had presented petitions to the Monarchy, but never until 1913 had the presenting of petitions to the King been described as an insult. When women agitated to get constitutional rights strange things happened, and their actions, even when historically correct, when carried out by men, were described in a most extraordinary way. An attempt was being made by members of the Government and by other interested politicians to draw the King and Queen into this quarrel which the women had with the Government. They wished to dissociate the quarrel from the King and Queen. The presenting of the petition had for its object the calling of the attention of Parliament and the country to the situation.

FIVE PETITIONERS IN COURT

The five petitioners were brought up at Bow Street, before Mr. Marsham, on Tuesday morning, all charged with "obstructing the police while in the execution of their duty." All five disclaimed any intention to insult their Majesties, and based their right to petition on the Bill of Rights. It was pointed out for the prosecution that as a matter of constitutional law and practice the proper method of presenting petitions was through the medium of the Home Secretary.

Mr. H. Muskett, who prosecuted on behalf of the Commissioner of Police, said the prisoners were charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, the only form of charge that met this kind of action. In accordance with the usual practice, special orders were drawn up by the Commissioner in connection with the opening of Parliament, and these included instructions to superintendents to take special care to prevent any person attempting to throw or present any letter or memorial to the King or any Royal personage. There could be no doubt that it was one of the elementary duties of the police to prevent the public breaking into the line of route on such occasions.

Miss Gertrude Vaughan

Miss Gertrude Vaughan, who is well known to our readers, both on account of her connection with the staff of Votes for Women and as author of the Suffrage play, "The Woman with the Pack," was the first to be charged. The evidence deposed that she approached the State carriage and tried to throw a roll of paper into it. She was prevented from doing so by a Yeoman of the Guard, and was then arrested.

Mr. Muskett: How close to the Royal carriage did she approach?—Three or four yards.

Miss Vaughan: You say I tried to throw the petition. Wouldn't you rather say I ran forward with it in my hand, and said, "A petition to the King"?

Witness: You gave me the impression you were going to throw it.

Speech for Her Defence

Miss Vaughan then made an able speech in her defence, which we reproduce verbatim on page 344. The magistrate then said:—

Mr. Marsham: However constitutional the petition was, you had no right to present it to the King except through one of his officers of State. Even if a petition was received by the King he could only hand it to the Home Secretary.

Miss Vaughan: We have tried in vain to get justice from the Government, and we now appeal to a higher power.

Mr. Marsham: You are not making much way.

Miss Vaughan: But for this agitation we should be just where we were seven years ago.

Refusing to be bound over or to find a surety, Miss Vaughan was then sentenced to twenty-one days' imprisonment in the second division.

Mrs. Lilian Dove Wilcox

Mrs. Dove Wilcox was similarly charged, and a police witness said she rushed into the Yeomen of the Guard, and when about a yard from the Royal carriage raised her hand as if to throw something. At that moment witness caught hold of her, and she said:

"It is only a petition to the King. Any of his Majesty's subjects are allowed to petition the King. You did not think it was a bomb?"

Mrs. Wilcox told the magistrate that she was a loyal subject and did not intend to insult their Majesties. The Government had shown that it was incapable of dealing with a subject that was rending the country from end to end, and a word from the King would make a great difference. One of two things must happen. Either women must have the vote, or they would keep on until they had upset civilisation altogether. (Laughter.) Instead of keeping the movement back, methods of repression were largely increasing the membership of the Women's Social and Political Union every week. The Government's treatment of the women was making the country look ridiculous in the eyes of the world.

The Magistrate again pointed out that the petition should have been presented through the Home Secretary.

The Defendant: We have done that, and we only have to go to prison for it.

There being a previous conviction against the prisoner, she was sentenced to a month's imprisonment in default of finding a surety.

Mrs. Wilcox: That absolutely proves that constitutional methods are a failure. I shall come out of prison more militant than ever, because it is the only thing people understand.

Miss Grace Stuart

Miss Grace Stuart, who gave her occupation as an artist, was stated to have got within a pace of the Royal carriage when she was arrested, and appeared to be about to throw a petition.

Miss Stuart: I say it was a perfectly legal action to present a petition to the King.

Mr. Muskett said this lady had twice been sentenced to terms of imprisonment at the sessions.

Mr. Marsham: I am glad to say there was no violence on this occasion.

Miss Stuart: I met with the violence, because I was thrown down.

Miss Stuart refused to be bound over, and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

Miss Paget and Miss Smith

Miss Kathleen Paget, similarly charged, insisted that she only wanted to give the petition to the King, to whom she meant no disrespect.

Mr. Marsham: You should present it to the Home Secretary.

Miss Paget: We have tried that before, and we only get knocked about by the police.

Miss Paget, also refusing to be bound over or to find sureties, was sentenced to twenty-one days' imprisonment.

Miss Dorothy Smith, the last of the petitioners to be charged, was said to have been arrested when about six yards from the Royal carriage.

Miss Smith: Is it illegal to present a petition to the King?

Mr. Marsham: I think it is in this form.

Mr. Muskett: It is a matter of constitutional law and practice. There is no question about it.

Miss Smith said she would not be bound over, and she was also sentenced to twenty-one days' imprisonment.

(*Block kindly lent by "Daily Herald."*) (*Newspaper Illustrations, Ltd.*)

Two of the Petitioners, Miss Stuart (left) and Miss Vaughan

THE KEW PAVILION FIRE

At the Central Criminal Court last Friday, before Mr. Justice Bankes, Miss Olive Wharry, otherwise known as Joyce Locke, student, surrendered to her bail, and was indicted for setting fire to the refreshment pavilion at Kew Gardens. She was found guilty, and sentenced to pay the costs of the prosecution, to be imprisoned for eighteen months in the second division, and to find two sureties in £100 each to be of good behaviour for two years.

The defendant pleaded "Not Guilty."

Mr. Bodkin and Mr. Travers Humphreys prosecuted for the Director of Public Prosecutions; Mr. Langdon, K.C., and Mr. R. D. Muir defended.

Case for the Prosecution

Mr. Bodkin said that the pavilion and its contents were totally destroyed. The contents belonged to two ladies, who held a refreshment contract from the Crown, and upon these ladies fell a heavy pecuniary loss, which arose not only from the loss of their property, but the loss of trade which would result from the demolition of the pavilion. Their actual present loss, over and above the insurance, would be about £400. Mr. Bodkin then described the arrest of Miss Wharry and Miss Lenton, and the contents of their bags, and concluded by saying, "While the evidence is not that of eye-witnesses, yet you have two women, apparently young and active, together at 3.15 a.m. in the Old Deer Park, with the necessary provisions in their bags for doing what actually had happened, and then giving false names and no addresses."

For the Defence

Evidence having been called for the prosecution, and none being offered for the defence, Mr. Langdon then addressed the jury for the defence, saying that he was not there either to condemn or approve of the suffragist outrages, but to draw their attention to the fact that the issue was whether the prosecution had succeeded in convincing them that the prisoner was one of the persons who set fire to the pavilion. Of course, he could not wholly set aside and shut his eyes to the fact that outrages had occurred, but he would ask the jury not to make up their minds that because the prisoner was connected with the suffragist movement therefore she committed the offence. Counsel concluded with the remark that he took the responsibility for not putting the accused in the witness-box.

The Judge's Summing Up

The Judge then summed up, warning the jury, first of all, not to let any opinions they might have on the suffrage question influence them in the matter.

"I only want to make this reference to it, which I think material," said his lordship. "Not very long ago it would have been unthinkable that a well-educated, well-brought-up young woman could have committed a crime like this. Not long ago one would have heard an appeal to the jury to acquit her on the ground that it was unthinkable she could have committed such a crime.

"But, unfortunately—and this is all I want to say about it—women as a class have forfeited any presumption in their favour of that kind. We unfortunately know that well-educated, well-brought-up women have committed these crimes, and as a consequence it is impossible to approach these cases from the standpoint that you would have approached them from only a few years ago."

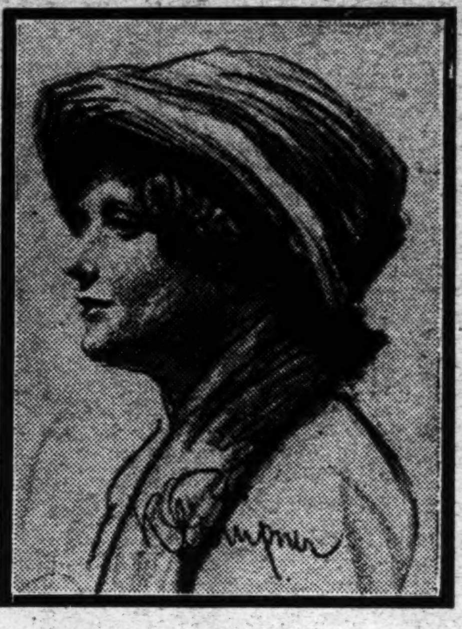
Proceeding, his lordship said the explanation of the women's presence was that they were engaged in a marauding expedition on the golf greens. It was for the jury to consider whether they had armed themselves with suitable instruments. Did one need tow, a hammer, a saw, or a rope? He thought a trowel would have been more appropriate.

The jury retired for about ten minutes, and returned a verdict of guilty.

The Defendant's Statement

Miss Wharry then read a statement, beginning with a protest against the way she had been treated while on remand in Holloway. The Judge having stopped her on this point, the defendant proceeded:

"I deny that this court has any jurisdiction over me. A man has a right to be tried by his peers, and so, too, a woman should be tried by women. How can you expect women to obey laws which they have had no hand in making? Women are classed with imbeciles, aliens, and criminals, and are not allowed the rights of citizenship. Many social matters come before Parliament which ought to be dealt with by women, but which are only considered by men." (Here followed examples of such injustice.) "For years women have worked quietly and constitutionally, and it is only because constitutional methods have failed that we have adopted militant methods as the only possible means of getting the vote. Cabinet Ministers have constantly broken their pledges, and therefore the women have revolted. A hundred thousand pounds' worth of damage was done by men at Bristol who demanded votes, and Mr. Hobhouse taunted us with not forcing our demands in a similar way. Our demands have been ridiculed in the past, and therefore we are adopting militant tactics. It is not Mrs. Pankhurst who has been inciting, but the Cabinet Ministers. We do not want to go any further, but we must show the Government that we mean business."



MISS OLIVE WHARRY

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Artist, and the Editor of the "Evening News," from a pencil sketch by Mr. E. S. Klempner.)

Miss Wharry here protested against the charge of injury which had been brought against her. She pointed out that she had been particularly careful to find that the pavilion was empty before she set it alight. She was sorry that the contents of the building was the property of two ladies, and she did not know this was so at the time, but she would say to them that this was war, and in war non-combatants had to suffer. "I am standing for a great principle," she said, "and morally I am not guilty, though the jury have condemned me, therefore I shall hunger-strike."

The Sentence

Mr. Justice Bankes, in passing sentence, said: "I have listened to your statement, and my duty is to pass sentence upon you. It is no desire of mine to lecture you or anything of the kind, but I am provoked by what you have said just to say this only. The statement you have made seems to me to indicate that you have lost all sense of the consequence of what you are doing. You do not seem to realise the loss and the injury and the anxiety that such acts as yours cause to all classes, not only to the rich but to the poor and the struggling, and not only to men but to women. You talk about man-made law as if that were the only law that ought to govern people's actions. You must have heard of another law which says, 'Ye shall do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.' That is the law you are breaking. I do not punish you for that, I punish you for breaking the law made in consequence of that. My sentence upon you is that you pay the costs of these proceedings, and that you be imprisoned in the second division for eighteen months. In addition, that you find two sureties in £100 each that you be of good behaviour and keep the peace for two years from to-day."

The defendant, saying she would not pay the costs or find sureties, was then removed.

PRESS COMMENTS

Miss Olive Wharry may or may not elect to add the crime of attempted suicide to that of arson; and without knowing the state of her health it is impossible to say what is likely to happen if she does. It has yet to be seen whether conviction on a grave charge will in her case be a mere farce, as it has been in similar cases.—**Standard.**

She has taken her sentence lightly enough, and has boasted in court of her intention to go on hunger strike. This also is not surprising. What would be surprising would be the news that Olive Wharry was—say, four months hence—still serving her just sentence. It will be very remarkable if Mr. McKenna does not whittle away the judge's sentence, and still more remarkable if Olive Wharry does not succeed in effecting her speedy release by means of the hunger strike.—**Daily Express.**

THE EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM THE COURTS

A Suffragist Victory

The exclusion by the Recorder of all women from the Court, including a woman journalist, during Miss Ella Stevenson's trial on March 5, has given rise to a great deal of comment, which has culminated in the rescinding of the Recorder's ruling.

The *Daily News* made the following comment on March 6, under the title, "An Indefensible Ruling":—

"The Recorder of London, when trying a Suffragette, ordered all women, even a woman reporter, out of court. Such action cannot be defended. There are circumstances when it is customary to exclude women—when they are witnesses and it is not desired that they should hear the testimony of other witnesses; when the evidence is of a painful character; when it is apprehended that they might be disorderly. It is not suggested that any one of these conditions was present to prompt the Recorder, and it can only be concluded that he was allowing personal prejudice to twist the exercise of an authority which should be judicial."

Another Liberal Comment

The *Manchester Guardian* of the same date published the following strong leading article:—

"The exclusion of a woman reporter from the Old Bailey yesterday, on no other ground than that she was a woman, seems to us a matter of very general concern. The case before the Court was one of the pillar-box outrages, and the Recorder, or someone for him, seems to have given the order that no women should be admitted; at any rate, the Recorder justified the exclusion on the ground that there were plenty of reporters present to report the case, and that some people thought that these cases were too much reported already. If a judge can exclude a woman on account of her sex, he can exclude a man on account of his politics; and the courts would soon cease to be open courts. A dangerous weapon this to put in the hands of Quarter Sessions. We know of no power in any judge to say what members of the public should be admitted or excluded from his court. Disobedience to the lawful orders of a judge may, it is true, be contempt of Court, but there can be no disobedience to his orders before the Court has begun to sit; he cannot, as judge, give hypothetical instructions in advance, because, until he has taken his seat on the bench, he is not clothed with the authority of justice. But whatever be the powers of a High Court judge with regard to contempt—and many people think that they are too wide—the powers of judges of inferior courts, like the Recorder at Quarter Sessions, are strictly limited. He can only deal with contempt committed in the face of the Court, when the Court is sitting, 'as by rude and contumelious behaviour, by obstinacy, perverseness, prevarication, or any wilful disturbance whatever.' It is none of these things to seek to enter an open court. Is it pretended that the mere sight of a woman in the body of the court is an insult to a Recorder who has a woman before him in the dock? Or that the presence of women in court would be likely to defeat the ends of justice? Or is the defence of exclusion to be that women if admitted might be guilty of gross disorder or some personal assault? That might be an excuse for the police, if the order of exclusion originated with them, but not for the Recorder, who is not responsible for the maintenance of the peace."

THE WOMAN JOURNALIST'S PROTEST

Miss Buckner, the woman journalist who was refused entry to the Central Criminal Court on March 5, wrote as follows to the Press:—

"The Press men were allowed to enter the court quite without question, but on presenting my card at about ten o'clock I was told that a permit must be obtained from the Sheriff. After waiting nearly an hour (during which time my chance of securing a place at the Press table was waxing smaller and smaller) I was finally informed that the Sheriff had consulted the Judge, who was of the opinion 'that it was better not to allow any women in the court.'

"This is but one of several occasions on which women reporters have been denied admittance to this court, and the matter is a really serious one. Women members of the Press already experience great difficulty in getting into other courts in this country, and there is a danger that these courts may follow the bad example set by the Central Criminal Court and become quite inaccessible to us. I need not point out how extremely prejudicial this state of things is to a woman's chance of earning a living, for what editor would employ a person who cannot be relied upon to bring back a report?

When Women are Tried

"I submit also that the exclusion of women from any court is flagrantly unjust, especially when, as was the case to-day, women are being tried. We are equally liable with men to be punished for any offence against the law; we can be compelled to attend a court as witnesses; those of us who are ratepayers have to contribute towards the upkeep of the courts of law, which are national institutions; are we not entitled to a place in the body, or at the Press table, of a court? Surely our recognition as adult human beings should not be confined merely to duties and penalties! Is it to be wondered at that there are militant suffragists when the need for women's suffrage, and the status as citizens which it would confer, is so clearly demonstrated?"

A LEGAL OPINION

The current number of the *Law Quarterly Review* has an interesting editorial note on a similar ruling in another Court, on which the *Manchester Guardian* comments as follows in its leading article of March 8:—

"It is not denied that the Recorder has power to order the exclusion of anyone who is misbehaving himself, but prospective behaviour is not a matter for the Recorder's discretion at all. If there is risk of disturbance of the peace, that is for the police; and it is as unreasonable for the Recorder to exclude all women because one woman once threw something at a magistrate's head as it would be to exclude all men wearing red ties because red ties are sometimes worn by Socialists and some Socialists are sometimes violent."

GIVING MILITANCY A HANDLE

The *Daily Express* also published a protesting leading article in its issue of March 6, in the course of which it says:—

"Anything, in our view, which gives militancy a handle or which excites the sympathy of reasonable persons for its exponents, is in the present circumstances deplorable, and this habit of excluding women from court during the trial of a suffragist will have these effects. It is, perhaps, an arguable point whether such exclusion is based on any weightier sanction than general practice, and a test case might even be of interest and value. Meanwhile we hope that the habit of exclusion, as applied against one sex alone, will be abandoned. It is neither too generous nor too just, and we believe it to be inexpedient. A few women in court can surely be so shepherded that disturbance is impossible. And the law is strong enough to deal with misbehaviour."

RECORDER'S RULING RESCINDED

On behalf of the Women's Freedom League Miss Nina Boyle wrote as follows last week to the Recorder of London:—

"My society instructs me to call your attention to the fact that a letter was recently addressed to you from this office on the subject of the improper exclusion of women from your court during the trial of women accused persons, and that you have not had the courtesy to acknowledge receipt of this communication. My society further notes with grave disapprobation that this unwarrantable and unconstitutional interference with public rights continues to be a feature of trials in your court. It is our intention to have this matter raised in Parliament at the earliest opportunity, and to call the public attention to your encroachment on the rights of the people on every possible occasion. My society deeply regrets that an official holding the lofty position you have the honour to occupy should bring discredit on that position by so petty an abuse of authority."

THE RECORDER'S REPLY

Last Monday the following reply from Mr. H. K. Avory, Clerk of the Court, on behalf of the Recorder, was sent to Miss Boyle from the Central Criminal Court:—

"With respect to the admission of women to the trials of offences arising out of the movement for obtaining votes for women, I am desired by the Recorder to state that the Commissioners of the Central Criminal Court have recently had the matter under their consideration, and that in future a reasonable number of women will be admitted to these trials."

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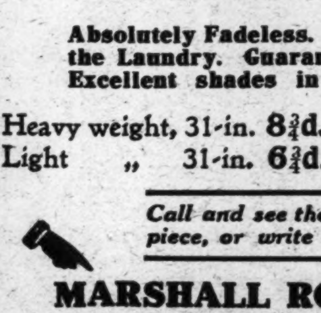

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HISTORY—MADE AND IN THE MAKING

Two New Books

THE GIRLHOOD OF MARIE ANTOINETTE*

The little queen "l'âme blanche" looks at us from many portraits. It is a child's face mostly, with the indefinite fleeting look of young things surrounded by marvels and intricacies, of a creature flung too early from the natural shelter of love. Her grace has become a proverb; her beauty a point for dispute; but in the white light of the terrors that fell around her, she stands eternally before the eyes of mankind.

People no longer speak of the end of her days. That shattering consummation is its own articulate voice; and even those who are harshest among her critics feel that she paid full measure pressed down and running over for any errors she may have made. Attention has indeed been so concentrated on the later events in Marie Antoinette's life that probably few of us have asked ourselves what preparation this young woman had in her girlhood for the tragedy that towered over her, or what education prepared her to take her place among the great crowned heads of Europe, and to play her ill-fated part in that drama of revolution which changed the standards of the modern world.

A bride of fourteen, after having been married by proxy at Vienna, with an old playfellow acting as the absent bridegroom, she went to Paris to her real marriage, where the dull Dauphin of fifteen looked on her with only a sluggish admiration. The eyes of all Europe were upon her, diplomatists discussed her from every point of view of statecraft, gossips hung on the details of her words and bearing; Maria-Theresa's strong heart was with her daughter; but the young husband, who kept a diary, on the day of his marriage, inscribed in his journal the luminous word "Nothing." He was only a child, of course, and she was only a child. Reasons of State had flung them together. He was motherless and might as well have been fatherless. She was separated from her mother by distance, and soon by great misunderstanding, for Maria-Theresa could not, using the standards prevalent at her Court, understand the conditions into which she had thrown her child. The position of the young Dauphine at Versailles was both dangerous and difficult. She was badly educated, even writing was a great trouble to her, and she had not ordinary accomplishments such as dancing and music; she seems to have been careless of her dress and appearance. Inexperienced and almost friendless, she found herself the centre of a dissolute Court, a little world of intrigue and immorality. Disliked by the old King because she would not receive Madame du Barry, neglected by her husband, surrounded by the most unsuitable attendants, her only friends were her tutor, the Abbé Vermond, and the Austrian Ambassador, Comte de Mercy. These two faithful men kept Maria-Theresa constantly informed as to the conduct and happiness of her daughter, and that Spartan mother wrote constantly long letters of admonition and advice, not always of the gentlest or most helpful. But the position was a forlorn one, and it seems a miracle that this high-spirited young girl should have made so few mistakes and kept her early fame so unspotted. In those early days, although she saw signs of distress, she was naturally ignorant of the volcano of discontent and rage that was slumbering under her feet.

In this volume Lady Younghusband does not take us far. It closes with the death of Louis XV., when Marie-Antoinette was eighteen years of age. But we are given much more than a glimpse of this young life. A very comprehensive account of the French Court is presented, full of vivid portraits of the brilliant men and women who surrounded it. The writer has steeped herself in her period, and spent infinite labour on exhaustive researches into all the available material. But her main basis is the exceedingly valuable secret correspondence between Maria-Theresa and Comte de Mercy, without which we should never have had this picture of the bewildering girlhood of the unhappy Queen. Lady Younghusband has rendered an original service, and her further volume will be very welcome.

J. E. M. B.

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* "Marie Antoinette: Her Early Youth, 1770-1774." By Lady Younghusband. (Macmillan and Co., 1912. 15s.)

MODERN EUROPE

This brief study of contemporary history, English and European, directs, as its title denotes,* a special eye to our own future. It is written rather interrogatively, and is more successful in putting its questions so as to arouse interest than in answering them so as to bring conviction. Those who like to have history presented to them through a very personal outlook and with rhetorical adornments, will find much here to their liking, and no reader will find any of these pages dull. In one very characteristic passage the author, dealing with our international relationships, describes Europe as "that precipitous watershed" wherein "the torrent of our national expenditure has origin"; and adds that "the chief lion in our path can be traced to that lair." Of the Balkan States he writes: "How is it that the rays, shorn from the horns of the waning Crescent, have made an aureole for such humble brows?" To these figures of speech the author adds now and again shrewd comments, and his half-interrogative conclusions often show a sound sense.

L. H.

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* "The Future of England." By the Hon. George Peel. Macmillan and Co. 1912. 1s.)

"AN OBLIGATION OF HONOUR"

House of Commons, Monday, March 13

In the debate on the King's Speech, last Monday, the only mention of the Woman Suffrage measure which had been omitted from the Speech was made by Lord Hugh Cecil, as follows:—

Lord Hugh Cecil: He, the Prime Minister, loudly claimed, I think three times over, in his speech that no assurances had been given by the Government which they did not propose in the future to carry. I sometimes think that years hence the Prime Minister will retire from office still adhering to assurances which still remain to be carried out.

The Prime Minister: Which of them?

Lord Hugh Cecil: All those three mentioned at the beginning of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. It is not only in respect of the Parliament Act that the position is regrettable. We are to have a Plural Voting Bill. We were told last session that it would not be possible for the Government again to introduce a franchise proposal, or again to allow the House to incorporate an Amendment dealing with Women Suffrage into that measure. Since we last discussed that matter the question of Women Suffrage has been greatly discussed in the country, and people are profoundly dissatisfied that no alternative is now offered.

The Prime Minister made an observation which was inaudible.

Lord Hugh Cecil: It was uttered, if not by the right hon. Gentleman, by several of his leading colleagues, and was the pledge of the whole Government, though those to whom the pledge was given are not satisfied. I do not think the Government ought ever to have given that pledge; I do not think it is a pledge which it was desirable that a Government, deeply divided on Women Suffrage, should give. But they did give it, and, whether a desirable pledge or not, it is a pledge certainly carrying with it a great obligation on them, a great obligation of honour. Observe how they are going to deal with the franchise question, as to which they have two obligations. They have an obligation of interest for dealing with plural voting, and they have an obligation of honour of including in the Franchise Bill the opportunity for putting in Women Suffrage. They propose fully to meet the obligation of interest, and they propose to deal with the obligation of honour by a composition. I think that is unfortunate, and particularly unfortunate in a Government which has dealt with other assurances, as the right hon. Gentleman has dealt with other assurances by which the Parliament Act was passed. . . . .

I observe that the people who praise the Government generally and the Prime Minister, refer to their scrupulous fulfilment of their pledges. That seems to me to be infelicitous. Everyone has his strong points and his weak points. There have been eminent leaders who have not been, as the Prime Minister is, very brilliant Parliamentary speakers. There was Sir Stafford Northcote and the late Mr. W. H. Smith, who made no representations to oratory, but whose grounds of confidence were founded on straightforward public character. If I were undertaking to sing the praises of the Prime Minister I should speak a great deal about his brilliant public speaking, but very little about his elevated sense of political honour. . . . Ministerial assurances are part of Parliamentary currency. If they go down in value the whole system of Parliament begins to be affected very much as if currency is depreciated trade gets out of order.

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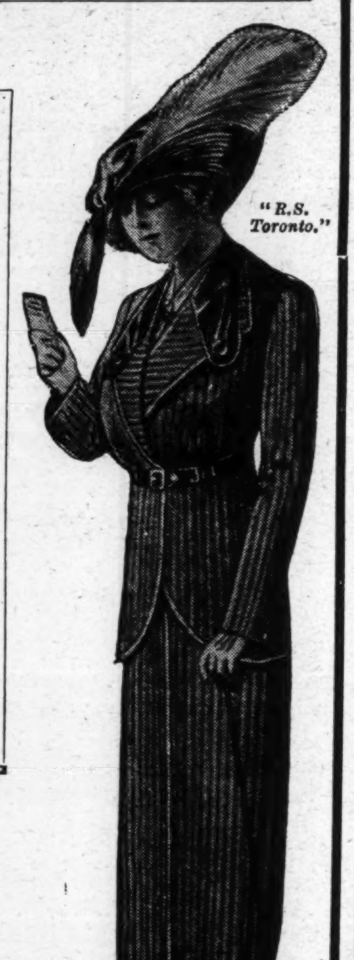

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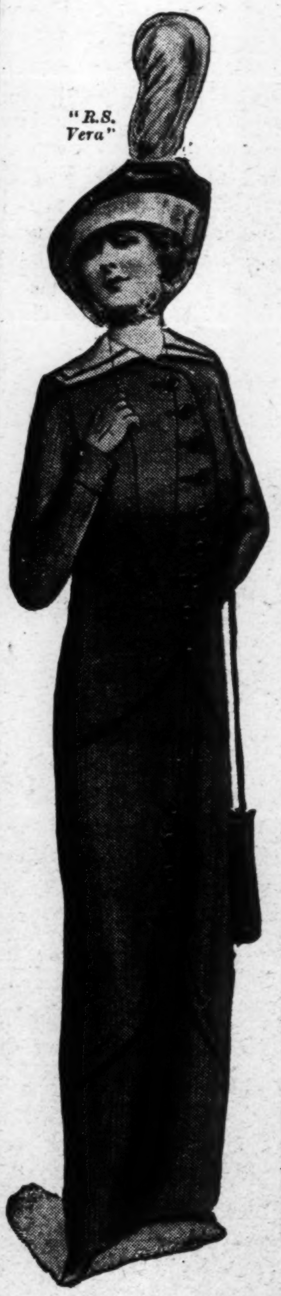

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NEW FICTION

AN ORIGINAL NOVEL

This book* attracts and holds our interest by its vivid descriptions of life in that as yet unfamiliar land, West Africa. The atmosphere has a strange fascination. One feels the terrifying loneliness of those silent, dark forest paths into which even the tropical sun never penetrates, fitting haunts for mysterious rites and cruel practices. As a contrast there is the lonely station on the coast, where the surf beats against the old castle fortress built by Portuguese traders, haunted by dreadful memories of byegone deeds and a brooding spirit of fear which drives men mad. The life of the white man amidst the native servants and half castes is cleverly portrayed. In this fortress the chief part of the story takes place. The plot itself, although on somewhat hackneyed lines, is sensational enough to stimulate—briefly, the unravelling of the lives of two women, each married to the wrong man. The character of the strong, capable heroine stands out boldly against that of the vain, selfish, butterfly woman, who is a hopeless clog on her men-folk. Similarly the mischief wrought by the selfish man is made evident. The setting, however, is the real point of the book, and Miss Gaunt may be congratulated on her original and fascinating material, as well as on the clever way in which she brings it home to us. We feel as if we had lived on the Mahogany Coast, had known its gloomy forests, its pitiless, soaking rain, its glorious tropical nights.

◆

MILITANT REBELLION

Mr. W. L. George's new novel, "Israel Kalisch,"† is full of interest. In it the author has developed a full theory of anarchism in a romantic form, a thing which we do not think has been done before, and which, to judge from the result, was well worth doing. The whole study of the character of Israel Kalisch is a fascinating one, from the day when we first meet him in Cracow, a little boy violinist, whose only relative is taken off to prison before his eyes, to the day when we leave him, lying on the pavement of Piccadilly, destroyed by the bomb with which he has failed to destroy the capitalist The growth of the young Polish Jew, from the dreamy boy to the terrorist, is admirably worked out. He is still a child when, hearing that the Social Democrats are "against the Government," he avows himself one of them. "But what has the Government done to you?" he is asked. The child's answer is superb. "'It . . .' and suddenly Kalisch gained a year or so's mental development, 'it has done nothing for me. Is not that enough to show it is bad?'"

Later, we are told of him:—

> He developed a growing hatred of Socialism, a deep conviction that in unfettered individualism and in unlimited freedom lay the salvation of the world.

As he grows more individualistic, he gets nearer to terrorism. "No, no," he says to a young Jewish follower:—

> "The law can do nothing but coerce. The freedom of your deeds lies in the freedom of your soul, the willingness to join together freely and to part freely, to love freely, and to die freely, to die free from a pauper's funeral or the ultimate aims of a tyrant."
>
> "But what must we do?" Jonas asked weakly.
>
> "First destroy. Comrade, believe with Nietzsche that to build a sanctuary you must overthrow a sanctuary."

There is much more we should like to quote, had we the space. The weakness of the book, in our eyes, lies in the bomb incident. It is not really made quite convincing how the little group of theoretic Anarchists, of whom Kalisch is the chief, become terrorists in deed as well as in word. What is convincing is the steady and consistent development of Kalisch's character, by which we are enabled to understand that, when it came to bomb-throwing, he minded being the bomb-thrower more than anyone else; but he did it all the same—and killed himself instead of his enemy.

◆

"NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES."

Miss Constance Smedley's new novel, "New Wine and Old Bottles" (Fisher Unwin, 6s.), is a pleasing and amusing book. The main business of the story is the pageant got up at the town of Scroose, in the Cotswold country, by certain newcomers, and the attitude of the older inhabitants thereto. Of course, there are mistakes and misunderstandings of a humorous kind, and the inevitable attachments that commonly precede marriage.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Problems of the Sexes." By Jean Finot. (London: David Nutt. Price 12s. 6d. net.)

"Way Stations." By Elizabeth Robins. (London: Holder & Stoughton. Price 6s. net.)

"The Banner With the New Device." By William W. Hicks. (Boston, Mass.: Sanctuary Publishing Co. Price 6s.)

Twentieth Century Magazine. (Boston, Mass.: Twentieth Century Co. 15 cents.)

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* "Every Man's Desire." By Mary Gaunt. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 6s.)

† "Israel Kalisch." By W. L. George. (Constable and Co. London. 6s.)

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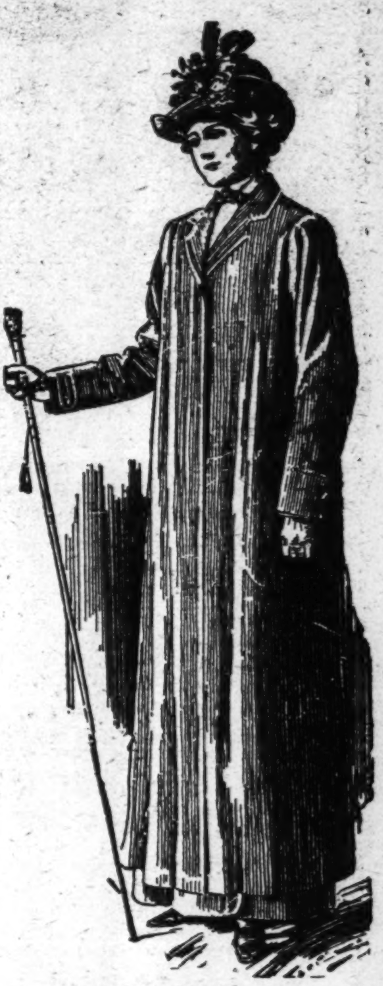

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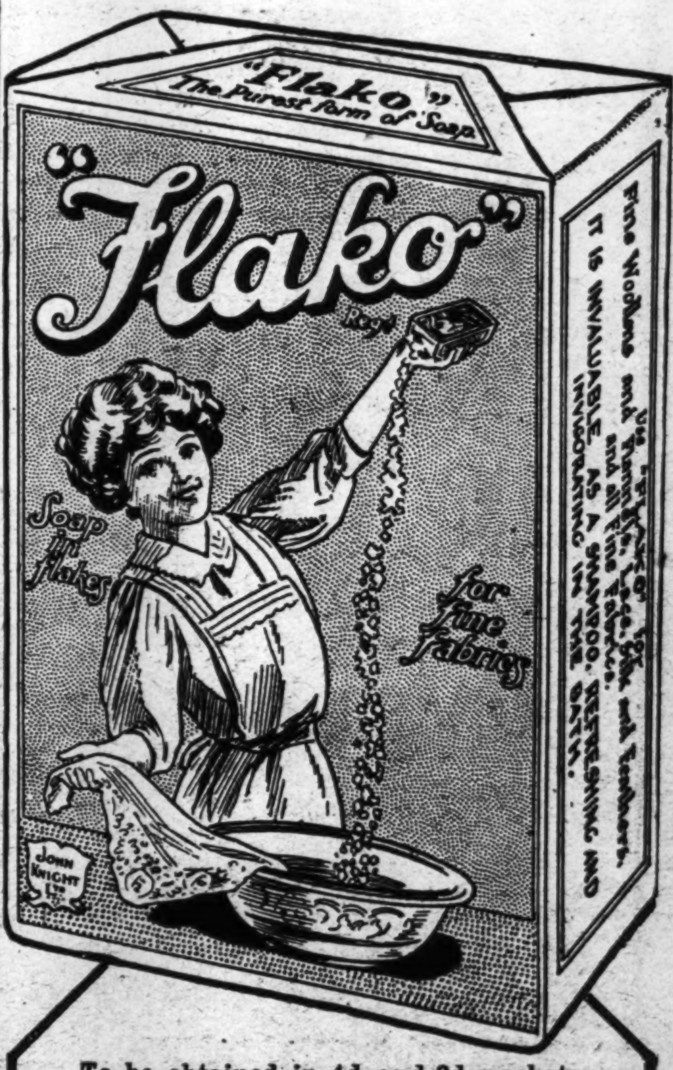
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FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1913.

A GRAVE INDICTMENT

> "Not very long ago it would have been unthinkable that a well-educated, well-brought-up young woman could have committed a crime like this. Not long ago one would have heard an appeal to the jury to acquit her on the ground that it was unthinkable she could have committed such a crime.
>
> "But, unfortunately, women as a class have forfeited any presumption in their favour of that kind. We unfortunately know that well-educated, well-brought-up women have committed these crimes, and as a consequence it is impossible to approach these cases from the standpoint that you would have approached them from only a few years ago."
>
> *Mr. Justice Bankes at the trial of Miss Olive Wharry.*

Never was graver indictment preferred against a Government than is contained in these words. For if the preservation of order and the control of the criminal classes is of the essence of good government, how great must be the condemnation of those in power who have actually converted the most law-abiding and peace-loving class in the community into a turbulent section from whom crime may unfortunately be expected!

It would have been indeed unthinkable a few years ago that a woman "well educated and well brought up" should have deliberately burnt to the ground a pavilion in a public park, and still more unthinkable that a considerable number of other women of similar standing should actually applaud the deed. Yet it is to these depths of shame and humiliation to which the present Government, by their flagrant misrule, have brought this country; for, undoubtedly, a considerable section of the women who are fighting the battle for the emancipation of their sex have come to the conclusion that it is only by these methods that they are likely to induce the Government to concede their demands.

Consider what has been the provocation which the women have received. In the first place a Government calling itself Liberal has flatly refused to put into practice the principles for which it professes to stand. "No taxation without representation," "Government by consent of the people," and similar phrases are part of the Liberal stock-in-trade, but when women in return for their taxes have asked to be given the Parliamentary vote they have been told that the Government was not united on the question, and nothing could be done. When they have claimed a share in making the laws they were called on to obey they have been told to admire the laws which men not responsible to them have made on their behalf, and of many of which they altogether disapprove.

In the second place, the Government have made no secret of their total disregard for all constitutionally expressed agitation. It was after the great Hyde Park demonstration of 1908 when, according to the correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, probably half a million people were present, that Mr. Asquith curtly refused to see a deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union, which had organised the meeting. It was after the great procession of suffrage societies (seven miles long) through the streets of London, and the petition of nearly every important municipal body throughout the country in favour of the Conciliation Bill, that Mr. Lloyd George announced that this measure had been torpedoed by the manœuvre of himself and Mr. Asquith. The Rt. Hon. C. H. Hobhouse went so far as to say in his memorable speech at Bristol that "in the present days of cheap and easy railway traffic they could always arrange numerous deputations or demonstrations, and they could be as noisy as their funds permitted—but they had not had, in the case of the Suffrage demands, the kind of popular sentimental uprising which accounted for Nottingham Castle in 1832 or Hyde Park railings in 1867."

In the third place, the Government have attempted from the beginning to meet the legitimate demands of women by organised violence. When two women at Manchester put a question to Sir Edward Grey at question time he suffered them to be thrown out of the hall in preference to giving them a reply. When a small and orderly deputation sought an interview with Mr. Asquith he had them beaten back by a posse of police and arrested rather than consent to receive them. When later a larger deputation, headed by such distinguished women as Dr. Garrett Anderson, the Mayor of Aldeburgh, Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the leading scientist, and many others, went out into the streets peaceably and with no offensive weapon in their hands, Mr. Winston Churchill sanctioned their brutal ill-treatment by the police, so that one woman died from the effects and others were permanently injured. When women have heckled Mr. Lloyd George at his meetings he has not hesitated to incite the audience to violent outrage by false accusations that they were hired to interrupt him and by references to hazel sticks and sacks. When women have suffered imprisonment in consequence of their coming into conflict with the law, even for the most trivial offences, their claim to be treated as political offenders has been refused, and their protest by the hunger strike has been answered by the barbarous and dangerous practice of forcible feeding in prison.

Lastly and most serious of all, the Government have met the straightforward demand of women for the vote by prevarication and breach of faith. It was in 1908 that Mr. Asquith spoke of the "hope and intention of the Government to introduce during that Parliament a Reform Bill to which an amendment to include women could be carried," but the words were scarcely out of his mouth when he referred to "a remote contingency in the dim and speculative future," and the "hope and intention" never fructified into reality. It was in the winter of 1909 that Mr. Asquith said that in the new Parliament the promise made for the expiring Parliament should hold good, and this promise again eventuated in nothing. It was in the summer of 1911 that Mr. Asquith promised that time would be available, and that the Government would be neutral, with regard to the Conciliation Bill in 1912, and that this promise should be kept "in the spirit as well as in the letter." It was in November of the same year that he made the announcement of the Government's Reform Bill, which, in Mr. Lloyd George's expressive words, torpedoed the Conciliation Bill. Events concerning the pledge for the recent Reform Bill are fresh in the memory. After four years of waiting, and in spite of repeated pledges from almost every member of the Cabinet, the Bill was not so drafted as to make an amendment to include women in order; and when this pledge failed, Mr. Asquith had the effrontery to give in its place a wholly worthless substitute which has been rejected by every suffrage society. To this story has to be added a reference to the shameless lobby intrigues to which Mr. Asquith and other anti-Suffragist members of the Cabinet have stooped in order to nullify the effect of statements made on the floor of the House.

Such a policy in history has always produced one result where it has encountered a vigilant and courageous people. And that result is being by inevitable consequence reproduced to-day. When the annals of this time come to be written the folly and wickedness of this Government in their dealings with women will be appreciated in their true light.

WOMEN AND AMERICA'S INDEPENDENCE

By S. D. Shallard

When the Anti-Suffragists descend to argument—which very seldom they do—their last desperate ditch is the contention that if women were enfranchised they would, in some mysterious, never-to-be-described way, weaken the power of the country for national or Imperial defence.

Of all Anti-Suffragist contentions this is the most futile, for as far back as history is to be read the contrary is shown to be the truth.

Speaking of the great battles in which Marius defeated the Teutonic allies, Valerius Maximus, in relating the valiant part played by the Teuton women, said:—

"If the gods on the day of battle had inspired the men with equal fortitude, Marius would never have boasted of his Teutonic victory."

But the part played by the Teuton and Celtic women—the stock from which our own women of to-day are descended—is too well known to need recalling here.

In Votes for Women of December 13 last, I showed how a woman's military genius and determination saved the Union of the American States in the teeth of the views of all the military, naval, and political men who were hurrying the armies of the North to ruin. In the issue of February 21 I showed how the courage and the daring of Moslem women made the Turkish revolution, and how the spirit of the revolution died when the Turkish Liberals betrayed their women as our own Liberals would like to betray our women.

Another passage in history bearing on this same point is the part played by women in the American Revolution and War of Independence.

Women's Advice Not Taken

Indeed, it is not at all certain that there would have been any war if the advice of the leading women—such women, for instance, as Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren—had been taken earlier than was the case.

Almost at the outset of the dispute between the colonists and the British Government the women put their fingers unerringly on the crux of the problem. Whilst the men were inveighing against "tyranny" and quoting historical precedents against enforced taxation, the women were discussing what ought to be *done*—by what practical steps the tyranny might be resisted and the historical precedents fortified.

Determined to do all in their power to defeat the ends of the British Government, they decided to boycott the principal dutiable articles. To this end the formation of anti-tea clubs was proposed as a first step, and in February, 1769—five years before the Revolution—a meeting of three hundred leading Boston women, convened by Mercy Otis Warren, signed a solemn declaration to boycott imported tea, and formed a club to spread their views by an energetic propaganda. They also took the thoroughly practical step of giving advice as to how refreshing drinks might be made from such substitutes as raspberry leaves and birch leaves!

Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Warren went further, and began to urge upon the Boston men that the landing of the "baneful weed" should be entirely prohibited. Had this advice been then taken, the British Government, unprepared for extreme measures, might possibly have been brought to reason and compelled to effect some compromise. But with that fatal weakness for "going on talking" which distinguishes so large a proportion of masculine politicians in all countries, the Colonial leaders preferred to give the British Government time to organise an invading army and to commence shipping it across the sea. Once convinced that it had the power to crush opposition, the British Government was not likely to listen to any argument except physical force.

Meanwhile, the women's boycott movement was extending in its operations, and associations were formed to boycott all imported luxuries from Britain, the women holding classes to teach the carding, spinning, and weaving of cloth for their own dresses and garments. They had not the political power to prohibit the importation of these things or they would have done so. In the end, as we know, when it was too late to avert war, their men-folk had to adopt the very tactics urged upon them so long in vain.

The Women's Newspapers

As in these directions, so in the all-important work of educating and focussing public opinion, the women took the lead. Two of the first newspapers established were the two Virginia papers—one Royalist and one Colonial—both of which were established, edited, and managed by women. The *Maryland Gazette*, already in existence, was owned and edited by Anna K. Greene. The *Maryland Journal* was established and edited by Mrs. Mary Goddard—the first postmaster to be appointed after the Revolution. Penelope Russell, of Boston, learned type-setting, and set up her leading articles as she thought them out. The *Boston News-Letter*, edited and published by Margaret Draper, was the only paper which continued to be published daily throughout the seige of Boston. The others were all suspended.

Is there anything in these passages of history which lends colour to the belief that if women had political power they would weaken the national and imperial powers of defence? Does it not, on the contrary, show how much quicker they are to grasp the true bearings of a national quarrel, and how much more eager to concentrate practically upon the material points at issue?

As in the inception of the quarrel, so in its development and issue, we find the women of our American colonies—many of them only one generation removed from British women—playing their usual part.

When the English garrison officers got up brilliant festivities with a view to influencing the colonists favourably to the British Crown, they were able to secure the attendance of some American men, but practically no American women attended, and any young men who were suspected of disloyalty to their country, or showed reluctance to obey the colonial call to military service, were cut by the girls of their acquaintance.

In order that every physician might be free to take the field with the colonial troops, numbers of women commenced the study of medicine and surgery, so that the towns and villages might not be left destitute of medical aid. Afterwards some of these women themselves went to the front. Numbers of women went with the troops, some disguised as men. Even some of those who were left behind drilled themselves and practised the use of arms, and made good use of their knowledge when opportunity offered.

"To Arrest Foes of Freedom"

Captain Whiting, an English officer, relates that when bearing the King's dispatches, at a bridge over the Nashau he found a party of women, dressed in men's clothing, and armed with muskets, pitchforks, and other weapons, posted there, as they explained, "to arrest all foes to freedom." They captured him, took his dispatches, and sent him off to join other prisoners at Groton.

Many, too, are the tales told of such girls as Hannah and Rebecca Weston, who, hearing that the colonial troops at Machias were short of powder, bore a 20lb cask through an almost trackless forest, where they were liable at any step to encounter wild animals, or, worse still, Red Indians. They reached their destination terribly exhausted, but in time to add their contribution to the munitions of war, and to witness the successful attack on the British ships.

In fact, to attempt to recall the part played by the women of our American colonies in their revolt against taxation without representation would need telling the story of the American War of Independence over again.

MATERNITY BENEFIT FOR FATHERS!

By M. Landon

Across the water in Southwark—pronounce, please, as "South-Wark," or we shall not understand you, and think you are speaking of Suffolk!—we are not greatly moved by politics, as such. We, being the women who attend to our homes, when we *can*, and go across the bridge early and late, *very* early and *very* late, to "do" offices when we *can't!* Men have their "clubs" and their votes, of course, and on occasions the latter seem of some moment; but the women have sterner facts to face, "them rates and taxis" and the "'eavy 'aul" that means each quarter. Then came the Insurance Bill, and that needed a bit of facing. "Wot about this thirty shillings for mothers? What do that *mean*, is wot I'd like to know?"

Now they are beginning to find out, and if Mr. Lloyd George wishes for further enlightenment on some of the inner workings of his late pet scheme, let him meet a deputation of the mothers of Southwark.

Mrs. Spicer would be in that deputation, and I defy any steward to arrest the flow of her volubility unless by strangling her! But then who would wish to do so? It is so instructive and illuminating; only, of course, that it is not what is required of women when Cabinet Ministers are present.

"My dear!" she begins—even Mr. Lloyd George might be so addressed at first. "You arst about this 'ere maternity benefit, did you? Well, now—yes, set down, an' I can jes' tell you wot 'appened to that por little Mrs. Smith, down in 'Unter's Court, *you* know, when she were confined. 'E 'ad to go and sign for the money, the 'usband, you know, for 'is self, not for 'er, an' 'e got the thirty shillings right enough, though 'e didn't 'ave the pain an' trouble; but there, that's wot the womin gets all round, seems to me. Lor' bless you! proud as Punch 'e was with *'is* thirty bob! Wot 'e give 'er? Wot jer think? Ten of 'em, *ten!* And when she says as the Gov'ment meant 'er to 'ave the lot, why, 'e talked very common, 'e did, an' she 'ad to feel very thankful as she got ten! Onny, mark this, that week-end 'e give 'er fifteen shillings for 'er money 'stead of one pound, like 'e generally give 'er. 'You've 'ad that maternity money,' 'e says, 'you don't want all my money, same as usual, you don't,' 'e says. An' 'im making good money, too! Thirty to thirty-two, take it all round, an' never giving 'er more'n the pound to do for all, three children too, this making the fourth!"

"Where d'it go to? Oh! the public—'im an' 'is frien's drinking 'is good 'ealth, treating of each other, an' 'aving a 'bit on,' like they do, you know! Don't tell me! Wot's the good of it all? Bah——! Talk of benefiting *womin!* The publican's the people wot'll benefit, take it furst and larst. Why, there's Mrs. Nettin, don't yer know 'er? Lives down Pepper Street. I thought you went down Peppers! Well, there *she* is, any'ow. 'Er 'usband 'ad bin out of work a goodish while; 'e isn't wot you can call a steady worker, 'e isn't; but someone got 'im a job, an' then 'er byby come. Thirty shillings in 'is pocket! So 'e chucks it, not going to do no blooming work with all that money on 'im, not likely. Give it to 'er! Not much. 'It's the father's maternity benefit,' 'e says; ''ad to sign my name to the gentleman,' says 'e, 'saying as 'ow I'd got it, and onst I got it, likely I'll give it up!' says 'e. 'The gentleman never said nothin' 'bowt giving of it up, 'e didn't, and the man wot gives up 'is money to a pack of womin's a fool!' That's wot 'e told 'er lying there with 'er new-born babe! An' she in such a state! The woman 'as is looking after 'er, she come round an' told me abowt it. She says to 'er, 'My dear, for 'eavens goodness sakes,' she says, 'don't go an' work yourself up so wild. Wot *is* men?' she says, 'call theirselves *men*, indeed! An' you got to think of this blessed innercent you 'ave, for milk fever is wot you'll 'ave if you put yourself *abowt* like this,' she says."

"But that man's worse nor a fool," continued Mrs. Spicer, less dramatically. "Seems to think there's more where that come from! Don't trouble abowt no work, 'e isn't, all 'is talk abowt the father's maternity benefit an' 'as 'ow 'e's paid fourpence a week for it, an' a man 'as a right to 'is own! *My* 'usbin met 'im and spoke stryght to 'im. 'Your *wife's* 'ad the byby,' 'e said, jus' like that, 'Your *wife's* 'ad the byby.' 'I prefer the thirty bob,' 'e answers back, sort of joking. I told my 'usbin not to talk to sich like, though I am sorry for 'er, I am. But there—you never can tell—when a man gets that money in 'is 'and—well—*my* children is growd up, my youngest is fourteen, an' I'm not sorry this benefit didn't come in *my* time, no, I'm *not!*"

"But they aren't all as bad as that! *Some* men——"

Mrs. Spicer sped on again.

"Maybe! I don't say there isn't. Mr. Curtis, now, will *give* it to 'er; but there, this is their first! It's a great temptation, it is, an' men is only men after all's said an' done. No, mark my words, it'ull make more quarrelling an' unpleasantness than it's worth, this 'ere benefit will, you'ull see!"

"Well, when women get the vote——"

"Oh! I'm with you there; an' many's the womin I've 'eard *talkin'* ''igh time them ladies 'ad their say.' You *can* talk, you ladies can; I've got some notions in my 'ead, yes, an' I'd like to 'ave my say at that Lord George, I would. Wonder wot 'is wife thinks of 'im? A poor kind of a picture 'e makes with them Suffrigettes after 'im! But let 'im come down 'ere and learn what other men's wives think of 'im and 'is maternity benefit for fathers! They'd 'ave their say—you trust 'em!"

FORCIBLE FEEDING STILL GOING ON

Only one release of a hunger-striker having taken place since we last went to press (and that of a woman who had fasted only five days—see page 344), we are therefore forced to the conclusion that the four women who, according to the Home Secretary's statement, were being forcibly fed on March 6, are still undergoing this abominable process, presumably because they are too strong to have earned the mercy of release. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is one of the four. Miss Olive Wharry, who declared her intention of hunger-striking before she went to prison last Friday, is probably by this time to be counted among those who are thus being legally tortured.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE HOME SECRETARY

Mr. Henry D. Harben, who has already fought more than one battle in the women's war for enfranchisement, has recently crossed swords with the Home Secretary on the subject of forcible feeding. It is not the Home Secretary who has come best out of the encounter.

Consequent on a speech made by Mr. Harben in Mr. McKenna's constituency, in which the speaker described the treatment in prison of Miss Billinghurst, a crippled Suffragist (see Votes for Women, January 24, 1913), the Home Secretary caused a statement to be made in the local Press characterising the description as reckless falsehood. Mr. Harben then forwarded to Mr. McKenna the statement made at the time by Miss Billinghurst. We reprint it, to recall the matter to our readers' minds.

MISS BILLINGHURST'S STATEMENT

"On Sunday two prison doctors came into my cell and tried to feed me with the cup. I clung to the back of the bed and buried my face in the pillow, and refused to be forced. Dr. Forward said, 'We must wait until to-morrow.'

"On Monday afternoon, after dark, three doctors came to examine me, ask me questions, and lecture me. One was Dr. Forward, the other two were strange doctors. After finding that nothing could shake my resolve of continuing my protest, they went out of the cell, and I waited in mental agony for an hour, when Dr. Forward, one strange doctor, and four wardresses appeared with tube, feeding-cup, &c. They caught hold of my arms and twisted my bed round, with my head to the gas jet; my head was forced back and a tube forced up my nostril. The agony was very great as they forced it down the passage at the back of my nose. I think the passage must be very small. I coughed and vomited the tube out of my throat several times.

"Moaned with Pain"

"They then withdrew the tube and tried to force it up the other nostril, but found they could not do so, so they forced it again down the right nostril, which caused even more pain than the first time. I moaned with pain, and I could see how upset the wardresses were. Miss Gay was tapping the 'Marseillaise' on her cell walls to help me to bear it. I again coughed and vomited the tube. Then Dr. Forward tried to force open my mouth, saying that if I would not open it he would force the tube down my deformed nostril. He succeeded at last in getting my mouth open and pouring in food, half of which I wasted, but was obliged to swallow the other half because my nose and throat were being pinched. I suffered pain during the night from indigestion and nose-bleeding.

"Tuesday morning Dr. Forward and wardresses came, and Dr. Forward forced my teeth apart by using an iron instrument. He first tried my front teeth with all his force, but could not move them, and finally he chipped a piece off one of my side teeth to make a place to insert his instrument, which he finally succeeded in getting in between my teeth and forcing my mouth open for the food."

THE HOME OFFICE APOLOGIA

In reply to this Mr. S. W. Harris wrote to Mr. Harben as follows, on behalf of the Home Secretary, on February 26:—

"Mr. McKenna gladly accepts your assurance that the report of your speech was exaggerated, and that in what you actually said you only quoted the terms of Miss Billinghurst's own statement. He has now read this statement of which you sent him a copy, and he has no hesitation in describing it as untrue. The actual facts are that the prisoner refused to take her food in the ordinary way, and as she persisted in this course the Medical Officer decided (as he was bound to do by law) that as a matter of medical treatment food must be administered artificially. The usual method is by using the nasal tube, but as the prisoner experienced discomfort the first time it was tried, the attempt was abandoned, and she was induced to take food from the feeding-cup without active resistance on her part. The feeding-cup was used on other occasions whenever she refused food, until January 18, when she was released on medical grounds. She was never actually fed by tube, either through the nose or the mouth.

"Absolutely Untrue"

"On one occasion her mouth had to be forced open for the purpose of feeding her from the cup, but this was done with the utmost gentleness, and, in fact, she made only a semblance of resistance. Her statement that one of her teeth was broken in order to insert a tube is absolutely untrue. She made not the least complaint while in the prison to the Medical Officer, or to any of the officers of the prison, of injury to her teeth, nor, in fact, did she complain in any way of her treatment there. Mr. McKenna took the opportunity of showing Miss Billinghurst's statement yesterday to an eminent London specialist, who was one of the two "strange doctors" referred to in the statement, and he described it as a travesty of what had actually occurred.

"Imposed on Him by Law"

"As regards your statement that these alleged acts of gross cruelty were 'done at the orders of the member for the North Monmouthshire Division,' Mr. McKenna wishes me to point out that the Medical Officer of the Prison was carrying out the ordinary duties imposed on him by law, and while the Home Secretary accepts full responsibility for the Medical Officer's action, and is satisfied that he exercised the greatest care and humanity, he must repudiate in the strongest terms the implication which your words, as reported, must have conveyed, viz., that the Home Secretary had given special directions for this prisoner to be subjected to cruel and outrageous treatment. For this allegation there is no shadow of foundation."

MR. HARBEN'S REPLY

Mr. Harben's reply, dated March 6, was as follows:—

"Your letter of February 26 describes Miss Billinghurst's statement generally as untrue; but the 'actual facts' you quote do not warrant that contention.

"(1) You admit that feeding through the nose was tried in her case, but that, as she 'experienced discomfort,' the attempt was abandoned. What you call discomfort sufficient to lead to abandoning the attempt, she calls very great agony. I have information from her doctor that the condition of her nose and of her nerves is not normal, and he adds: 'I do think that Miss Billinghurst would be more sensitive to a tube being passed through the nostril than the average person would be.' Her statement is, therefore, probably nearer the truth than your information.

A Contradiction in Terms

(2) You admit her mouth had on one occasion to be forced open; but 'this was done with the utmost gentleness,' and her tooth was not broken. Forcing a mouth open with gentleness sounds a contradiction in terms; moreover, there is corroborative evidence of her version in the fact that after her release from prison one of her teeth was found to be actually chipped, and was attended to by a dentist. I have the statement of the dentist in my possession, and she has shown me the tooth herself. In view of the evidence, I cannot believe that she made 'only a semblance of resistance,' or that her account is a 'travesty of what occurred.' On the contrary, it is obviously your information that is wrong. (3) I cannot admit that your responsibility is merely formal in this matter. Correspondence has taken place between the prison authorities and the Home Office on the subject of forcible feeding; your own personal attention has been called to it again and again, and you have defended it publicly on many occasions. It has been open to you at any moment to put a stop to it; but you have adopted forcible feeding as part of your policy in dealing with suffragist hunger-strikers. I did not therefore cause any misconception in the minds of my hearers when I said that the barbarities I described were done by your orders.

"Revolting Brutality."

"I regard the whole thing as revolting brutality. You think otherwise, and have a perfect right to your opinion. We cannot all have the same standards in these matters. But I have a right to complain that, when I made known in your constituency that this brutality had been practised on a crippled and abnormally sensitive woman, you sheltered yourself behind a charge of reckless falsehood, which you have neither substantiated nor withdrawn. What I said was neither reckless nor false, but carefully considered and substantially true."

PROPOSED COERCION ACT

A measure embodying the "Cat and Mouse" licence for militant women prisoners seems to be the only legislation in connection with the Suffrage agitation that is foreshadowed as likely of fulfilment in the new session. This Coercion Bill, if introduced, will propose to release the hunger-strikers on licence when they have been brought to the point of death, and to give the authorities power to re-arrest them as soon as they have been nursed back to life. "This," adds the *Daily Herald*, "is the ghastly game of 'Cat and Mouse' which a Liberal Government proposes to offer as a substitute for fulfilling its so often broken solemn pledges to English women. Parliament has sunk very low. It remains to be seen whether it will sink quite as low as this."

A Suffrage Paper's View

"Here will come another opportunity to test the sincerity of Suffragist M.P.'s. It is their duty to refuse to facilitate the Government in dealing with suffragette disorders unless concurrent steps are taken to remove the grievance which has provoked those disorders. The legislature has no right to suppress symptoms without seeking to eradicate the disease. Any Government measure of a repressive or coercive character should be opposed by every Suffragist unless it is accompanied by a Government measure giving votes to women."—**Irish Citizen.**

PETITION AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

A petition against forcible feeding has been sent by the Irishwomen's Reform League to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr. Birrell, and Mr. McKenna, and to the Prisons Board and other appropriate public bodies. Signatures of prominent Dublin citizens, including those of H. T. Bewley, M.D., F.R.C.P.I.; K. F. Lynn, M.B., F.R.C.S.I.; L. J. Farrell, L.R.C.S.I.; J. K. Bridgeman, B.L.; F. C. Purser, M.D.; Katharine Maguire, M.D., were obtained to the number of 188, largely through the instrumentality of the Misses Cadiz and Miss Latimer. The following is the text of the petition:—

"The Irishwomen's Reform League are endeavouring to arouse sufficient interest to secure the abolition of forcible feeding of suffrage and political prisoners. Now that this practice has proved ineffectual as a means of keeping prisoners alive and sane, there is no longer any justification for continuing it. In the opinion of many thinking men and women the practice is unjustifiable from any point of view. We therefore beg that such of our leading citizens who wish to see it abolished will sign this petition."

FORCIBLE FEEDING—A COMPARISON

The Expert Opinion

The *British Journal of Nursing*, in its issue of March 8, comments very strongly in an article called "Artificial versus Forcible Feeding," on the dangers of tube feeding, as demonstrated in the recent case of Miss Lenton.

"To the trained nurse," it says, "the fact which differentiates the feeding by tube of patients in hospital, and the forcible feeding of prisoners, lies in the word forcible. . . . In the case of an adult sane patient, in hospital, resistance is practically unknown.. . . . But compare the ordinary dextrous routine practice connected with a nasal feed, as administered in a hospital ward, with the horrible procedures daily enacted in prison cells, where a resisting person in good health is pinioned, gagged, held down by a number of wardresses—not trained nurses—and fed forcibly. . . . It is stated in justification of forcible feeding that it is 'the only alternative' where the hunger strike is adopted in prison. This is not true of women Suffragists. What they demand is government by consent. It is high time that it was conceded, and that methods of barbarism ceased."

The Party M.P.'s Opinion

In direct contrast to the statesmanlike character of the concluding passage of the above article is the attitude adopted towards the same situation by Mr. Harold Cawley, M.P., in a speech delivered last Saturday. He is reported in the *Manchester Guardian* to have said:—"Any criminal could get out of prison if this thing was allowed to go on. He agreed with the man who said that the women should be allowed to take their food if they would, and that if they would not they ought to be allowed to die. He did not say it without sense of responsibility, because he knew some of these women would starve themselves to death, but others would not do so in the future. Their action was taken to set the law at defiance, and when it ceased to be efficacious as a means of getting out of prison, he believed that hunger-striking would cease. One could not blame either the Government or the Home Secretary because the women were released, for a new law would be required before the women could be left either to eat or to die. It was a question whether the Government should bring in a Bill altering the law, and there were very strong reasons why they should not. Therefore he did not think it was right to blame the Government. As an administrative act they could not do it, and there was good ground for saying that legislation would do more harm than good."

Legislation of a coercive character would certainly do more harm than good. But, as a Liberal M.P., has Mr. Harold Cawley no suggestion to make as to legislation of another kind?

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday, March 6.

Mr. Keir Hardie: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department a question, of which I have given private notice, namely: How many women prisoners there are at present for offences connected with the agitation for the enfranchisement of women; whether any of these are being artificially fed; and whether any are in hospital?

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. McKenna): Fifteen women suffragist prisoners are now in prison, of whom ten are taking their food, three are being fed by tube, and one by cup, and one, who was received into prison last night, is refusing to take her food. Seven are in the prison infirmary—one on account of illness, two for purposes of observation, and four to facilitate the process of feeding. With the consent of the House, I should be glad to take this opportunity of giving full particulars as to the suffragist prisoners received into prison since the beginning of the year. They number fifty-five, including four men. Of these, thirty-two were released on expiration of sentence, or on payment of fine, or on bail at expiration of remand. Three of these thirty-two were fed forcibly; all the others took their food. Fifteen women, as I have already stated, and one man, are still in prison. There remain seven prisoners who have been released out of ordinary course because they refused food and were suffering from serious illness—four from heart disease, one from pleurisy, one from tuberculosis, and one was a paralytic, with a weak heart. Two of these prisoners were untried and may be rearrested.

Mr. Keir Hardie: With regard to the prisoner who is in the infirmary, owing to illness, is the illness serious, and is there any intention to release her?

Mr. McKenna: I must have notice of that question.

Wednesday, March 12

Lord Robert Cecil asked the Prime Minister if he would state what steps the Government propose to take in order to put a stop to the continued outrages by certain persons professing to desire the enfranchisement of women.

Mr. Asquith: All steps legally possible are, I believe, being taken, and will continue to be taken.

Lord Robert Cecil: Does the right hon. gentleman contemplate making any changes in the law?

Mr. Asquith: We are considering that.

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"THE WILD WOMEN"

The *Standard* of last Wednesday, in an article headed as above, after declaring that "the deliberate burning of a railway station is about as serious an offence as any body or persons can commit," goes on to ask:—

"What are the Government going to do? So far they have done nothing except persist in a procedure which has proved ludicrously ineffective. The practice of forcible feeding is offensive, and, as events showed, it is futile. In the case of Lilian Lenton, a prisoner under remand, it was made the cover for a proceeding on the part of the Home Secretary which was probably illegal, and was certainly contrary to the spirit and custom of the Constitution. All these transactions furnish abundant ground for the question which Lord Robert Cecil is addressing to the Prime Minister."

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PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

Important Announcement

The National Political Reform League ask us to announce a public demonstration against forcible feeding, to be held under their auspices in the Kingsway Hall, London, W.C., next Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock. Mr. Bernard Shaw and other well-known speakers will address the meeting. Admission by ticket only. Reserved seats, 2s. 6d.; unreserved, free. Tickets and all information to be obtained from Miss Broadhurst, at the offices of the N.P.R.L., 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

MR. ASQUITH CALLED A "WELSHER"

Public Meeting of Law-Abiding Suffragists

The new policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which we gave last week, was expounded at a public meeting held in the Kensington Town Hall on Friday last.

MRS. FAWCETT'S SPEECH

Mrs. Fawcett, in her speech from the chair, explained that the policy of the Union had been changed because "we have received promises and pledges from Mr. Asquith and his Government which have not been fulfilled—(cries of "Shame")—and which they show no sign whatever of desiring to fulfil. When the Government found themselves in a position in which it was impossible to fulfil the promises, instead of consulting with us what we should consider an equivalent to those promises, they declined to see us when we asked for an interview, but tossed us what we consider an absolutely worthless substitute. That is the position that we have to press home upon the public, and the public is showing signs of beginning to understand the position in which we stand, and our righteous wrath and indignation at the treatment which we have received."

Condemnation of Mr. Asquith

The speaker concluded by a strong condemnation of the Prime Minister, saying, "We can place no faith whatever in Mr. Asquith in this matter. We decline altogether to listen to those who say that he is a pattern of honour and honourable conduct. We know how we stand now, at any rate. Our absolute want of faith in the honour and faith of Mr. Asquith when he made these promises and the means he took to make these promises operative is the reason why we have changed our policy and our attitude to the Liberal party."

MRS. SWANWICK'S SPEECH

Mrs. Swanwick moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting, regarding the offer of facilities for a private member's Bill as no equivalent for the Prime Minister's pledges in connection with the Reform Bill, calls on the Government to redeem their pledges in the only way now possible by introducing a Government measure next session to give votes to women."

Politicians, she said, had done their best to complicate what was the simplest case possible. Hardly any wild-cat scheme that could be thought of had been overlooked by politicians in proposing a way to defeat the demand of the women. The latest genial suggestion was that they should adopt local option. This beautiful little scheme summed up all the objections to all the other schemes, and a few more as well. These schemes were all of use to dissipate their forces, but they were not going to be so dissipated. (Cheers.)

Mr. Asquith a "Welsher'

"The imputation of deep dishonour," she proceeded, "now lies on the shoulders of the Prime Minister. (Cheers.) Mr. Asquith has been like a gambler who puts a bigger stake down than he owns, and when he finds he has lost he is a welsher who refuses to pay his just debts because he knows there is no law to enforce them." (Cheers.)

The speaker then went on to insist on the need for a united Cabinet. It might be a difficult job to get it—it was a difficult job. But getting the vote was a difficult job.

The New Policy

With reference to the new election policy, Mrs. Swanwick said that the Union was not waging war against Liberals as Liberals. They were going to teach them to be Liberal. They would concentrate against the anti-suffragist members of the House of Commons. This might be difficult in places, but it was certain that in some places these men would not be returned to Parliament again. "We think," she continued, "that we have a chance of turning out Mr. McKenna in Monmouth—(applause)—Mr. Hobhouse in East Bristol—(applause)—and Mr. Pease in Rotherham." (Cheers.) In these and other places they were going to accomplish this by getting a Labour candidate to run against them. The way to get the Liberal out was to get the Labour man in. They were going to put the fear of the National Union into the Whips. Women were now rising in their tens, hundreds, nay, thousands, in indignation against the Liberal party, and would work strenuously against it.

Concluding, Mrs. Swanwick said they wanted to make the Liberals rebel against the tyranny of the Prime Minister, to say to him, "Either you have got to bow to the will of the people or you have got to go." (Applause.)

LORD LYTTON'S SPEECH

Lord Lytton said the new policy of the Union was a proof that their zeal was just as great as that of those who showed their discontent by violent methods, and who acted as if votes could be got out of pillar-boxes or rise, phœnix-like, from the flames of private property.

Referring to the Government's new offer to grant facilities for a Private Member's Bill, he said that was what they had been asking for all these years, and two years ago they would have been grateful. They were not a bit grateful now.

The Meaning of the New Policy

Lord Lytton then gave concrete instances to show how the new by-election policy of the N.U.W.S.S. would work out. With reference to parties, the new policy was to support the Labour party as a party, because it was the only one which, as a party, was of service to them as a suffrage cause. They would oppose the Liberal party as a party, because whilst it was led by and followed its present leaders it was dangerous to them as suffragists. With the Conservative party at the present moment they had no concern, and were neutral with regard to it.

Two Important Qualifications

And now as to individuals. In a constituency in which there were two anti-suffragists standing, one a Conservative and the other a Liberal, and it was not possible to introduce a Labour candidate who was a suffragist, it would be impossible for them to take any part, because there were at least these two qualifications of the anti-Government policy they were going to adopt. First, they would not definitely oppose a tried friend, even though he were a Ministerialist—though they would not actively support him. Secondly, they would not, even for the sake of opposing the Government, actively support an enemy of their cause.

If there were two suffragist candidates in the field, a Liberal and a Labour man, they would oppose the Liberal. They would also support a Labour man against a Conservative suffragist because they would support the Labour party as a party, and wherever there was a Labour candidate in the field they would support him. But supposing there were a Conservative suffragist candidate and a Liberal suffragist candidate in the field, they would then support the Conservative against the Liberal, because they were opposing the Liberal party as a party, and because it was the Liberal members of the Government which they wished to put out of power.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

Mr. Philip Snowden, who spoke through a good deal of interruption from militants in the audience, said that the new policy was an anti-Government policy. It was an attempt to compel the Government—(A voice: "Why don't you compel them?")—to make the question of woman suffrage a Government question. Could that be done? They might say that half the members of the Cabinet were against it. Well, could they not compel them to change their minds? (Applause, and a voice: "What have you done?") He believed that even Cabinet Ministers could be made to change their minds. (A voice: "Why don't you change yours and do something?")

He referred to a criticism of the independence of the Labour party. A writer has declared it was "an integral part of the Coalition." For nearly twenty years before the Labour party found a place in the House of Commons he had gone up and down the country advocating an Independent Labour party.

At the next General Election they would have no fewer than a hundred Labour candidates, most of whom would be in three-cornered contests, fighting against Liberals and Conservatives. Every one of these Labour candidates would make the question of woman suffrage the dominating issue of the contest, and therefore the certain result would be the loss of a considerable number of Liberal seats. The loss of seats was the most powerful argument they could use to induce the Government to make the woman's question a Government question.

From the above speeches it would appear that the new election policy of the N.U.W.S.S., dividing all candidates as it does into Suffragists, Anti-Suffragists, and "Tried Friends," might be tabled as follows:—

Two Candidates.	ElectionPolicy
L. Anti; C. Anti.	Abstention.
L. Suff.; C. Suff.	Support Con.
L. "T. F."; C.	Abstention.
L. Anti or Suff.; Lab.	Support Lab.
L. "T. F."; Lab.	Doubtful.
Lab.; C.	Support Lab.

In the case of a three-cornered contest the Labour candidate will be supported unless the Liberal or Conservative is a "Tried Friend," when the Labour candidate will only be supported if he is first in the field.

PRESS COMMENTS

We note that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has decided on a new policy. We cannot recite all the permutations and combinations of that policy as they were stated by Lord Lytton yesterday, but the general intention is plain. The women will support the candidates of the Labour Party, and will oppose Liberal candidates. They will endeavour to run Labour candidates in Liberal constituencies, and they will leave all Conservatives in peace. If it is imagined that this new policy, which seems to be in the main supported by ladies and gentlemen who are themselves Conservatives, will soften the hearts of Liberals opposed to Women Suffrage and make Liberals who support the women's cause more ardent in their faith, there has been a grave miscalculation and a serious misunderstanding of human nature. We can imagine no form of tactics less likely to help the women's cause with Liberalism or more likely to consolidate those who oppose that cause.—**Westminster Gazette.**

The *Westminster Gazette* is obviously upset by the decision of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies to help Labour candidates, especially where they are fighting anti-suffrage Liberals. . . . It is the first time that we have known the *Westminster Gazette* to be keenly concerned either about the women's movement or the Labour movement. We think the comments will convince the women that they are carrying out an effective policy, and one that will impress the Government more than they care to admit. . . . But we confess we do not understand the implied sneer of the *Westminster Gazette*. Money subscribed by women desirous of political freedom would, to say the least, be as clean as money subscribed by men desirous of becoming Liberal baronets or peers. At election times the Liberal Party is very glad to avail itself of the help of women, and we are not certain that even their money would be refused.—**Daily Citizen.**

Suffragists are resourceful, but they have shown themselves amazingly bad tacticians. What value does the average politician attach to a section which decides to give its vote to the Labour party? Their support in the present mood of the public is not helpful to any party, and even Labour will not be very thankful for it on the day of reckoning at the polls.—**Western Morning News.**

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MR. BARNES, M.P., ON THE NEW POLICY

Mr. Barnes, M.P., in the course of a letter to the *Daily Citizen*, in which he discusses (1) the new policy of the N.U.W.S.S., (2) that of the Labour Party in resolving to vote against Franchise Bills that do not include women, and (3) the militant policy of urging the Labour Party to oppose the Government, says:—

"Some of our leaders have declared against the Plural Voting Bill, and they are being pressed to go the whole hog. And, for once, militant women are quite logical. Why should plural voting be singled out? It gives no more votes to men; it takes votes away from men.

"There seems to me no more reason why we should vote against a Plural Voting Bill than against the Welsh Disestablishment Bill—not so much. The fact is that there is no logical halting place. If the Labour Party is to become a part of this new 'great national progressive force,' we can't stop at Franchise Bills or Plural Voting Bills, but we must make war for women on all Bills. . . . Well! if that be the fate in store for us, I should like to enter my protest. I shall vote, as heretofore, in favour of giving votes to women, while having no illusions as to the effect of it. But I shall vote for the abolition of plural voting, or for the abolition of sweating, or for the feeding of school children, or for the abolition of half-time, or, better still, for limiting exploitation, notwithstanding that women may not first get votes.

"I think we ought to paddle our own canoe. We should let the women do the same. Let us wish them good luck, but don't let us get involved in bargains with them, or in a hopeless plan of working in double harness."

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THE KING'S SPEECH AND THE PRESS

"THE GRAVER INJUSTICE"

The fifth promise is of a Bill to prevent any one man from voting, perhaps, several times over at one General Election, an improvement with which it would have been far more grateful to Liberal feeling generally to see linked the removal of the graver injustice maintained by the non-enfranchisement of women.—**Manchester Guardian.**

"NO FACILITIES"

On this occasion, however, Woman Suffrage will be offered no facilities in a Government measure, and will have to rely entirely on the opportunities conceded to the private member. We regret this course, but the action of the Speaker last session makes the fulfilment of Mr. Asquith's undertaking to the women impossible, and it would be idle to deny that the insane developments of militancy—fresh illustrations of which were provided yesterday by the burning down of two railway stations—have seriously weakened the pressure upon the Government in regard to the question.—**Daily News.**

"A FINE SHINDY"

Though members have only just returned to the House of Commons there is evidence of a fine shindy amongst the Ministerialists over the franchise for women question.—**Skipton Herald.**

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ANOTHER WEEK OF MILITANCY

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, March 6.—Telephone wires affecting the main trunk line from Newport to Liverpool cut between Newport and Pontypool late on Wednesday night (after we had gone to press); a slip of paper left inscribed "Votes for Women." No arrests.

A brown fluid poured into Post Office letter-box at Belfast late on Wednesday night. A detective had been on duty all the week, but at the moment his back was turned. No arrests.

Glass tubes of phosphorus put into two letter-boxes at Kew; considerable damage. No arrests.

Friday, March 7.—Telegraph and telephone wires cut between Kilmarnock and Glasgow—twenty-five at one place, twenty-seven at another—cards attached bearing the words "Votes for Women." Believed by police that the "cutters" came by motor. No arrests.

Contents of letter-box burnt at Ethelburgh Street, Battersea; Fire Brigade called out. No arrests.

Saturday, March 8.—Iron railings torn up, several gas lamps damaged, and a number of young saplings broken off 6ft from the ground at the Nottingham Forest Recreation Ground; a strip of wood left labelled "Votes for Women." No arrests.

Four pillar-boxes attacked in Dublin; many addresses altogether obliterated. No arrests.

Sunday, March 9.—Bowls house in Heaton Public Park, Newcastle, destroyed by fire, believed to have been the work of Suffragists, as message left, "No peace until Votes for Women." Many bowls, canvas shoes, and goloshes burnt; damage estimated at several hundred pounds. No arrests.

Water poured into pillar-boxes at Willesden and a large quantity of letters damaged. No arrests.

Monday, March 10.—Attempt to present Suffragist petition to the King on his way to the opening of Parliament; five women arrested.

Saunderton (Bucks) Railway Station (Great Western and Great Central Joint Railway) completely destroyed by fire; fire supposed to have been caused by Suffragists. No arrests.

Croxley Green Station, London and North-Western Railway, gutted by fire; suspicion that Suffragists are responsible.

Phosphorus and petrol put into letter-boxes at Hastings.

Tuesday, March 11.—Home Office windows broken; two arrests.

Town Councillors, magistrates, solicitors, tradesmen, &c., at Birmingham, Bedford, and Pontypool received unstamped envelopes containing a halfpenny and a circular advocating votes for women. To accept one of these letters involved the payment of a fee of 6d.

During the week the guerilla war of the militant Suffragists has continued, day by day. The early editions of the evening papers last Monday contained the startling news that two railway stations had been burnt to the ground in the night. Though no arrests were made, one of these fires, and afterwards both, were attributed to the militant agitators. Other events, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, burning of a bowls' house, destruction of letters, trees, iron railings, have happened also. The rougher elements of the public, incited by the Press, have attempted reprisals, with the result that several meetings, indoor and outdoor, of the W.S.P.U. have been conducted amid uproar, and at Nottingham on Tuesday night Miss Kenney had to abandon the meeting. A constitutional meeting at which Lady Frances Balfour was the speaker was also broken up last Tuesday.

◆

BURNING FOR THE VOTE

Two Fires at Railway Stations

Two railway stations were burned in the early hours of Monday morning, March 10, one at Saunderton, near High Wycombe, and the other at Croxley Green, near Watford.

The Saunderton station is on the joint line of the Great Western and Great Central, and is in a lonely part. The fire was discovered by a cottager about 1.30 a.m. She roused the station-master, and fire brigades were sent for. These, however, were not able to save the station, as their work was hampered by a strong wind and difficulty with the water supply. The station was burned to the ground, though the line was saved. The fire seems to have originated in the booking-office. Two papers were found on a fence near the station, on one of which was written "Votes for Women," and on the other "Burning for the vote," causing the fire to be attributed to the Suffragists.

A fire also broke out at the Croxley Green Station, on the London and North-Western Railway. It was first seen by a policeman at about 1.45 a.m. The booking-office, a good deal of the staircase, and part of one platform were burnt, and the service of trains had to be suspended during the day. The cause of the outbreak is at present a mystery, but suspicion has fallen upon the Suffragists.

◆

"SUFFRAGISTS MOBBED"

So much has been made, in a certain portion of the London Press, of the rowdiness of hooligans and boys at recent suffrage meetings, that it is refreshing to find protests being made in the *Wimbledon Boro' News* against this form of outrage, as shown at Wimbledon Common last Sunday week.

The *Wimbledon Boro' News* says:—"The scenes which occurred at the Suffragette meeting held on the Common on Sunday afternoon were a lasting disgrace to the fair fame of Wimbledon." After describing how the speakers, Mrs. Lamartine Yates and Miss Nancy Lightman, held the great crowd of 5,000 people quiet for a long space of time, the paper goes on to describe what happened when the speakers came down from the platform: "There were two or three rushes, with intervals in between, during which the crowd howled and yelled like raving maniacs, and attempted to get at the women behind the cordon of police. Now and again, as they managed to surge nearer, some of the men struck at the women and clutched at their hats. At last, as by some preconcerted signal, a most determined rush was made on all four sides at once, pressing irresistibly towards the centre. The weight of the terrific pressure broke down the platform, and several women and one or two men were borne down to the ground, in imminent danger of being trampled by the mob."

"All through this trying time," continues the paper, "the women showed a fine example of courage to their assailants by the manner in which they bore themselves during the terrible ordeal to which they were subjected. There were several men, too, who exposed themselves to no inconsiderable risk in trying to help them."

The same paper comments thus in its leading article:—"Had these women been murderesses, caught red-handed in the commission of some atrocious crime, such an exhibition of savagery would have been horrible, but when one remembers that their crime simply consists in the methods by which they are supporting an agitation for liberty—of which we are so fond of talking—it is astounding to think that Englishmen should so far forget themselves. The methods may be wrong, even criminal—we are not concerned to defend them; but, after all, the motive behind them is such as has been held to redeem many methods far worse; in any case, surely the English sense of justice and fair play is not to be vindicated by these cowardly attacks on women."

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ARREST OF A YOUTH

At Suffragist meetings held on Sunday, March 9, at Hyde Park, Wimbledon Common, and Hampstead Heath, a certain amount of disorder was caused by the hooligan element in the crowd. At the Hyde Park meeting, Frederick Meek, a messenger, aged sixteen, was arrested. When he was charged the following day at Marlborough Street Police Station, a policeman stated that he saw him strike a man in the face with his fist, and attempt to do so again; he was fined 5s., or five days' imprisonment. It was lucky for him he was not a woman Suffragist.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 „
Mrs. Maud Brindley	„ „	5 „
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	„ „	3 „
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	„ „	3 „
Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	2 „
*Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
*Miss Annie Lansbury	„ „	1 month „ „
*Mrs. Moor	„ „	1 „ „ „
*Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	„ „	2 months' „ „
Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	6 „ „ „
Miss Jane Shortt	„ „	6 „ „ „
Anonymous	Mar. 4	2 months
Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 „
Miss Joyce Locke	Mar. 7	18 „
Miss Dorothy Barnes	Mar. 11	1 month
Miss Kathleen Paget	„ „	3 weeks
Miss May Richardson	„ „	1 month
Miss Dorothy Smith	„ „	3 weeks
Miss Grace Stuart	„ „	1 month
Miss Gertrude Vaughan	„ „	3 weeks
Mrs. Dove-Wilcox	„ „	1 month

In Tullamore Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
*Mrs. Purser	Jan. 30	1 month hard labour (1 additional month in default of bail)

In Pentonville Prison

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
*Mr. William Lansbury	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Mr. Hugh Franklin	Mar. 8	9 months

* Hard labour afterwards remitted.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 6.—At the Cheltenham Police Court, charged with affixing placards to letter-boxes without authority, Miss Winifred Boult and Miss Agnes Bates; fined 10s. each. The defendants refused to pay fines, and said they had no distrainable goods. The Bench said the alternative was fourteen days' imprisonment in the second division, and in the meantime ordered a distraint. Miss Ruth Eamonson, also charged, was too ill to appear; Miss Anna Munro, of the executive of the Women's Freedom League, appeared for her.

Friday, March 7.—At the Central Criminal Courts, Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Bankes, charged with setting fire to the Tea Pavilion, Kew Gardens, Miss Joyce Locke (Miss Olive Wharry). Sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in the second division, to pay the costs of the prosecution, and to find two sureties of £150 each for good behaviour for the next two years.

At the Justiciary Appeal Court, Edinburgh, before the Lord Justice Clerk, Miss Ethel Moorhead appealed against her conviction in October last of assaulting with a whip an Edinburgh schoolmaster. Appeal dismissed; defendant ordered to pay £7 7s. costs.

Saturday, March 8.—At the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, Caxton Hall, before Mr. Montagu Sharpe, charged with setting fire to a railway carriage on the Great Central Railway and endangering the safety of passengers, Mr. Hugh Franklin; sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division.

Monday, March 10.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Marsham, charged with causing obstruction by selling flowers in the street, Miss Rachel Gidden; gave undertaking not to cause obstruction in future.

At the Bow Street Police Court, charged with breaking through the police lines and attempting to present a petition to the King on his way to the opening of Parliament, Miss Gertrude Vaughan, Miss Kathleen Paget, and Miss Dorothy Smith, each sentenced to twenty-one days' imprisonment. Mrs. Lilian Dove Wilcox and Miss Grace Stuart were sentenced to one month; all in default for finding sureties for their future conduct.

At the Bow Street Police Court, charged with breaking windows at the Home Office and doing damage to the extent of £4 10s., Miss Mary Richardson and Miss Dorothy Barnes; sentenced to one month's imprisonment or a fine of £5 each and the damage done. Miss Dorothy Barnes said she had broken the window as a protest against the arrest of the Suffragist petitioners, and Miss Richardson said she had committed the damage as a protest against the omission from the King's Speech of any reference to votes for women.

◆

MR. FRANKLIN'S CASE

At the Middlesex Sessions last Saturday, Mr. Hugh Arthur Franklin, aged twenty-three, of Porchester Terrace, W., a member of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, was indicted before Mr. Montagu Sharpe for setting fire to a railway carriage at Harrow Station and endangering the safety of persons conveyed on the Great Central Railway. Mr. Gervais Rentoul prosecuted, and stated that on October 25 last the defendant was a passenger by a train which left the Great Central terminus at Marylebone at 4.5 p.m. He left the train at Harrow, which was the first stopping-place, and there a porter noticed flames issuing from a first-class compartment in which the defendant had travelled.

The Defence

Evidence for the prosecution having been called, the defendant, who had no counsel, contended that there was not sufficient evidence of identification, and that there was none to show that the life of any person had been endangered. Proceeding to deal with the motives that underlay his action, he was stopped by Mr. Montagu Sharp, who said: "Please don't introduce politics here."

The jury having returned a verdict of Guilty, Mr. Franklin addressed the Bench, saying that his action was committed as a form of political protest against the treatment meted out to the woman suffrage movement. If anyone was to be charged with endangering human life it was the Home Secretary himself for the way in which he treated Miss Lenton. During the week he was on remand he was forcibly fed three times a day—eighteen times in all—and it required six warders in addition to two doctors to hold him down. Whatever the sentence passed upon him he should feel that the acceptance of it would be an admission of guilt, and therefore it was his intention to refuse all food as soon as he got to prison. He would have to be released, or else the sentence passed upon him would be equivalent to a sentence of death.

The Sentence

Mr. Montagu Sharp said that the defendant had been guilty of a wicked act. He sentenced him to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, and ordered him to pay the costs of the prosecution. Leave to appeal was granted.

◆

MISS VAUGHAN'S SPEECH FROM THE DOCK

We give on page 337 the account of Miss Olive Wharry's trial at the Old Bailey in connection with the burning of Kew Pavilion; and on page 336 the account of the trial of the five petitioners to the King at Bow Street. Miss Gertrude Vaughan, one of the five women sentenced at Bow Street, made the following speech in her defence:—

I should like to say this, that the action which I, as an individual Suffragist, took yesterday, was a perfectly legal and constitutional one. People complain that in our agitation for the Parliamentary vote we break the law. Yesterday I fulfilled the law, and I find myself in the dock! My action was based on the right, never repealed, of every subject to petition the King, and for trying to do that I was arrested, and this absolutely untrue charge of obstruction was brought against me. I do not blame the police. Probably they have forgotten, if they ever knew, all about the Bill of Rights. Their duty was to keep the course clear, but I submit that I caused no obstruction. I heard the orders given to the police who lined the Mall; they were five paces apart. In front of them was a space of about three feet, and then, perhaps three paces apart, there was a row of soldiers. From where I stood to the Royal carriage there was a perfectly clear course; I did not touch anyone in passing, nor was there any attempt to touch me until I was stopped by a policeman in the road itself. All I did was to run between the police and soldiers, holding up my petition, and saying, "A petition to the King." Then a constable took my arm and led me back to the footpath. I made no attempt whatever to resist him.

"A Menace to Peace"

Our action has been referred to in some quarters as an insult to the King. I wish to say most emphatically that it was no insult at all, but that there is a very deep and grievous insult, both to their Majesties and to the people over whom they reign, in the scandalous mishandling of this question of women's enfranchisement by the Government in office. I wished to bring to the notice of their Majesties the fact that the disorders in various parts of the country in connection with this agitation are a menace to the peace and well-being of the State; that fresh measures of coercion are contemplated by the Government in the vain hope of crushing the spirit of the women, and to submit the hope that in outlining legislation for the coming session there would be some reference to this vital question of the status of women. I would like to add that, for my own part, I am glad and proud to stand in this dock, where so many hundreds of women have stood in the same righteous cause during the last few years.

◆

ANOTHER HUNGER STRIKER RELEASED

As we went to press on Wednesday afternoon we learnt that Miss Margaret James, who was sentenced on February 5 to six months' imprisonment for window-breaking, had been released by order of the Home Secretary after five days' hunger-strike.

THE PRESS AND THE SITUATION

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND THE NEW SESSION

"WHAT THE GOVERNMENT HAVE TO FACE"

Under this heading a very significant leading article appeared in the *Nation* of last Saturday. After saying that "it is the historic line of Liberalism to offer reform as the most appropriate remedy for social disorder. It can rely on coercion only, if it pleases," the article goes on to say:—

"But because Liberalism is debarred from this course of policy, it does not at all follow that the pressure of opinion, acting through Parliament, will not bring it about. As things go, the constitutional movement is being nullified. There is at present no public or Parliamentary force adequate to the passage of a Woman Suffrage Bill. Small as is that force today, it will become more exiguous with every fresh outrage inflicted on the general public, and falling like the rain from heaven on the evil and the good, the friends no less than the foes of emancipation. The merely destructive element in the policy of the extremists is, therefore, on the eve of accomplishment. . . .

Demand for a Government Bill

"But that does not exhaust the difficulties of the hour. It cannot have escaped the attention of Ministers that in their attitude to a private Suffrage Bill the constitutionalists have practically come into line with the extremists. Mrs. Fawcett rejects the Prime Minister's proposed alternative, and as she was a real party to the original bargain, we do not see how the Prime Minister can now sustain it. She and her important following have come into line with Mrs. Pankhurst and have demanded a Government Bill. Thus the *démarche* of a private measure is virtually at an end. The Suffrage Bill will fail. There will then be nothing left for it but the coercion of the Suffragettes. . . . .

"In a sense, therefore, the Liberal Government and the Liberal Party are intimidated and embarrassed. The law is being set at nought; offences are wantonly committed, and their punishment cleverly evaded. The executive side of government seems almost to have been baulked of one of its regular and automatic activities, but it is being baulked by people who declare themselves outlaws, and as to whom one-half of the Ministry are of the opinion that such outlawry is unjust and ought to cease. It is inevitable that in the course of this physical and spiritual conflict the Cabinet should be divided, as Gladstone's Cabinet was divided, and finally ended, over Irish Coercion.

At a Dead-Lock

"We have arrived, therefore, at a deadlock. The women constitutionalists and anti-constitutionalists press for a Government Bill. But that, in present circumstances, is a demand for Mr. Asquith's head on a charger, and the Liberal party is indisposed to enrich Mrs. Pankhurst with so costly a present. We have offered a solution which would at least make it possible for a divided Government to act directly and instantly, and would provide an automatic scheme for the gradual and inevitable adoption of the suffrage on terms removing its offence and familiarising the whole nation with its working. We will not at this moment re-argue this proposal, for neither the extremists nor the moderates . . . accept it. The Parliamentary door, therefore, is for the moment closed, and the only force operating with vigour on the Cabinet is the unorganised but powerful, even the national, demand for the forcible suppression of outrage-mongering. We can only say that in yielding to that pressure this Government risk the disaster which threatens Liberal Administrations at issue with political agitations that have taken on a criminal complexion. The women can have no consolation in such a prospect, for the force that drags down Liberalism will drag them down with it. But the Government have their special responsibility, and we may well ask them, if they cannot guarantee the passage of the new Suffrage Bill, nor graft on to it a scheme of local option, what they propose to do?"

REMOVE THE CAUSE

WHAT IS THE NATION GOING TO DO?

We must look the facts straight in the face. Rebuke, abuse, even ridicule have no effect. It is useless and absurd to go on saying that every time a new outrage is committed the women are "setting their cause back." On the contrary, they have forced it to a point when it has become a subject of acute national urgency. This movement, indeed, is spreading like a flame from one end of the country to the other, and cannot be put out by cold words. Attempts at repression will only aggravate the evil. We are forced irresistibly to the conclusion that our informant is right in stating that increased severity will only lead to further and greater outrages. What is the nation going to do? —**National Weekly.**

"LONG OVERDUE"

The party in Parliament, guided by the decision of the last conference, will use every endeavour to press during the coming session the political claims of women, and to urge on the Government the necessity for taking up a Woman's Suffrage measure before or after its second reading. It is a great pity that extra obstacles are being placed in the way of women's enfranchisement by the mistaken ardour of the militants, but the matter is one of deep principle, and the time is long overdue for settlement. The political freedom of women will remove a gross injustice and exalt the civic life of the nation.—**Daily Citizen.**

WHO BEGAN IT?

But is it quite so certain that the woman Suffragists began it? We have heard their plea for the vote answered by the objection that as women cannot enforce the laws which they propose to join in making they have no right to participate. This makes political rights rest ultimately upon force. It is, as we hope to show, a doctrine that is clean contrary to Liberalism, if not indeed to all civilised government. But those who preach it have little cause for complaint if women who are denied the franchise on such grounds proceed to display the quality upon which, they are told, the right to the franchise depends. . . . Because they cannot contend with men, it is said, they must be content to be without votes. Does it not logically follow that if they would have votes they must show themselves able to contend with the whole male organisation that refuses them the vote? If by violence, by civil war, they can force the Government themselves to surrender, they will have answered the people who say that ability to enforce laws is the condition precedent to a voice in making them. If it is said that women cannot accomplish so much by violent means we readily agree. We believe they will injure rather than advance their cause. But we quite fail to see how those who propose such a test can refuse the women the right to try.—**Yorkshire Observer.**

"THE LESS OF TWO EVILS"

It is disgusting to read of women being mobbed, threatened, and knocked about in streets and public places; and men who say "serve them right" are not much better than the hooligans who express their sentiments a trifle more emphatically. Nor is there any sense in the view that these experiences will teach the victims a useful lesson. All experience shows that such lessons usually have the opposite effect to that which the teachers expect. No matter who began it, or who is to blame, we are reaching a state of things which is a disgrace to all of us. If things go on like this, a great many of those who are most strongly opposed to Woman Suffrage will resign themselves to it as the less of two evils. Personally, I would rather a woman should have a vote than that she should be maltreated by gangs of roughs, however violent and provocative her own behaviour may have been.

We shall see what effect mob violence has upon the pin-prick policy of the W.S.P.U. But sooner or later the question which these females raise will have to be submitted to a popular vote, and the recent course of events suggests that the sooner it is done the better. That may not suit the convenience of Ministers and M.P.'s, but there are stronger reasons than their convenience.

One way of dealing with the question which a great many people favour is a referendum. Possibly that would be more convenient to Ministers than a General Election, and it has this great advantage, that a referendum taken under a Bill *ad hoc* could be made to include women as well as men, and women certainly ought to be consulted—in fact, it would be irrational to decide this issue without any regard to the opinion of women. It is the business of the Government to deal one way or another with a question which has become such a burning one as this, and doubly their business when they have done so much to bring things to their present position.—**Truth.**

"A NIGHTMARE TO MR. ASQUITH"

Assuming that the question of Lords' Reform is again passed over, that Mr. Lloyd George's land policy is pigeon-holed, that Lord Haldane's dream of wholesale education reform is not realised, and that every effort will be made in other ways to abbreviate the session, there are still formidable difficulties and perplexities in the way of the Government. The Suffrage question alone must be a nightmare to Mr. Asquith.—**Standard.**

THE SPECTRE AT THE FEAST

A question which may cause some embarrassment to the Government, although it will not figure in their programme, is the question of Woman Suffrage. A private Bill of some kind or other is certain to be promoted, and the Premier is pledged to give full facilities for any such measure which passes its second reading. Once again there will be the interesting spectacle of members of the Cabinet ranged one against the other on this issue. In the circumstances, however, there seems to be little chance that any Bill extending the franchise to women will command even in principle the support of a majority in the House of Commons. The "militant" campaign has roused the active hostility of public opinion against the cause with which it is associated, and, besides, the Nationalists will be as anxious in this session as they were in the last to prevent the passing of any measure which might cause embarrassment to the Prime Minister, and so weaken the solidarity of the Government. The only legislation likely to be passed concerning the women suffragists will consist of one or more Bills to give the authorities larger powers to deal with those responsible for the "outrages."—**Morning Post.**

IS THE HOME SECRETARY LIABLE TO SEVEN YEARS' PENAL SERVITUDE?

This is the question raised by the *Law Journal* in its issue of March 8, which says: "When a person has been arrested under a warrant issued by justices, or remanded by them pending trial, or committed by them for trial, the gaoler in whose custody the prisoner is placed is simply a bailee of the prisoner, whose duty it is to bring him up for trial in accordance with the warrant of commitment. . . . Indeed, for a gaoler to release a prisoner without legal authority is obviously a serious offence, and there is no reason why it should not be covered by the same rule which governs the action of a private person who effects such a release. If this doctrine is right, then the Home Secretary may possibly be technically guilty of an indictable misdemeanour in ordering the release of Miss Lenton, unless he can show some authority for his action."

The article goes on to say that such an offender "shall be guilty of felony, punishable with seven years' penal servitude."

MILITANCY WITHOUT VIOLENCE

TAX RESISTANCE

THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD A TAX-RESISTER

The *Times* stated last Saturday that the Duchess of Bedford has refused to pay property tax for Prince's Skating Rink. Her reasons for doing so, as expressed by herself, are as follows:—

"I am very strongly opposed to the militant tactics adopted by a portion of those who are in favour of women's franchise, and I have therefore taken this, the only course open to me, which appears justifiable, of protesting against the way in which the question of woman suffrage has been treated by the Government."

MRS. TOLLEMACHE AT BATH

A distraint for King's Tax took place at Batheaston, near Bath, on March 7, when some old silver was sold, belonging to Mrs. Tollemache, a well-known Suffragist, of Batheaston Villa. A protest meeting was held outside, and speeches were made to an interested audience, Mrs. Kineton Parkes stating that the Government were now losing large sums of money, in cases where there were no goods to distrain upon.

In such cases, she pointed out, the Government were powerless, since public opinion would not tolerate the perpetual imprisonment of conscientious objectors, and such objectors were usually left alone; but if they were imprisoned they had to be speedily released, as in the two cases of Miss Clemence Housman and Mr. Mark Wilks.

FOURTEEN DAYS—FOR WHAT?

Two members of the Women's Freedom League—Miss Winifred Boult and Miss Agnes Bales—were charged at the Cheltenham Police Court on March 6 with unlawfully placarding pillar-boxes. Miss Ruth Eamonson, who was likewise charged, was too ill to attend. Miss Anna Munro, of the League's executive, appearing for her. Evidence was given that late on February 2 the defendants were found sticking placards on to letter-boxes. The posters began with the words, "Dare to be free." Miss Anna Munro said that women did not recognise Courts constituted without their consent, and that the prosecution should be directed against the Women's Freedom League, at whose instigation the pillar-boxes had been placarded, and not against the defendants. A fine of 10s. each was imposed, and when Miss Boult and Miss Bales refused to pay this, and said they had no distrainable goods, they were given the alternative of fourteen days' imprisonment in the second division. The Bench, however, ordered a distraint.

OBSTRUCTION—ON WHOSE PART?

Miss Rachel Gidden was charged at the Bow Street Police Court on Monday, March 10, with causing obstruction in the street by selling flowers in connection with the Self-Denial Week of the Women's Social and Political Union. A police constable stated that on the previous Saturday evening he had seen the defendant selling violets at the junction of New Oxford Street and Tottenham Court Road. She held the violets out to passers-by, and he thought impeded their progress. The defendant said she had only just arrived when the constable spoke to her. There were only six people within a few yards of her, and she did not consider that she caused any obstruction.

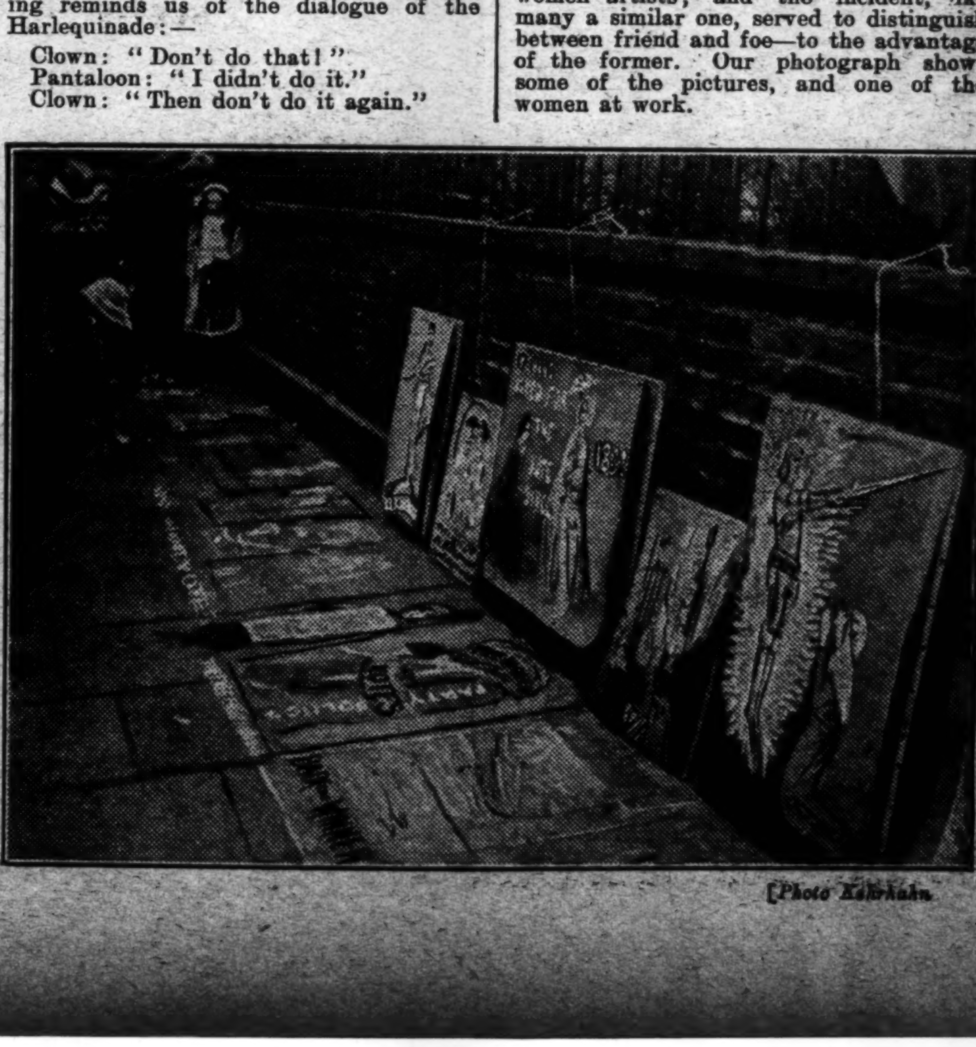
A Harlequinade Dialogue

The magistrate said that he did not doubt that she caused obstruction, but that if she would undertake not to do so again he would discharge her. She gave the undertaking; and the whole proceeding reminds us of the dialogue of the Harlequinade:—

Clown: "Don't do that!"
Pantaloon: "I didn't do it."
Clown: "Then don't do it again."

PROPAGANDA ON THE PAVEMENT

For several hours last Friday, Kensington women artists, having sent in their this year's pictures to the Academy, found themselves free to make a little money for the cause. Their "Self-Denial" took the form of drawing pictures on the pavement, and as every one of them is an exhibitor their work was of a level that attracted a steady stream of friendly spectators, who willingly contributed to the money-box held out to them. Public opinion was entirely on their side, until just before the time came for abandoning their "pitch," when a well-dressed man came and walked deliberately over the pictures and obliterated them. The police, when appealed to, said the pavement belonged to everyone, but took no steps to protect the women's share of it; a gentleman, however, who crossed over the road on purpose, remonstrated very strongly with the militant "Anti," who had reinforced his foolish action with loud abuse of the women artists; and the incident, like many a similar one, served to distinguish between friend and foe—to the advantage of the former. Our photograph shows some of the pictures, and one of the women at work.



[Photo Kelbrhain.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—In a sermon I heard last Sunday, the preacher, in a little digression, referred to the growing power of women in public matters, moral, social, intellectual, commercial, and political, and the splendid influences for good in all that makes for the welfare and happiness of the world generally. With a certain indication of a smile, he expressed the thought that, to many of our prominent men, strongly impressed with the sense of the superiority of their sex, it would give many an unpleasant "crick in the throat" if they were cornered with the question whether their opposition to the woman's political movement was, or was not, one of prejudice, if not worse. The sermon was not a political one, and the subject was not carried further. But it was evident the preacher did not follow the obstinate, stick-in-the-mud principles of Mr. Asquith.

As an Englishman and a voter, I am disgusted with our present Government. I am putting the woman's franchise question in front of every other, and I have written to the M.P. representing the constituency in which I live that at the next election every other question will be subordinated to it.

I am thoroughly disgusted with the tyrannical and self-willed action of our present Government. Present-day Liberalism is not synonymous with liberty and progress.

For over forty years I have supported the Liberal cause, but in the last two elections my vote has gone the other way. I have learnt to look upon the present power as a coalition of destructive tyranny. It seems incredible to me that a body of men, who presumably are men of a high order of intellect, should be so oblivious of the lessons of past history—to the awful records of the sufferings of the pioneers of every progressive measure of importance. These men belong to a party who on numberless occasions have held up for the admiration of their hearers the heroism of their forefathers in past struggles for freedom and the overthrow of monopoly and oppression. Advancement and the overthrow of despotism has all the world over been along paths that have been washed with the tears and blood of martyrs and other sufferers. It is so now. We have oppressors now who are every bit as relentless and unprincipled as they were of old. Under a power that calls itself "Liberal" it is so; and I wish to conclude this letter with an extract from the Bible (Eccles. iv. 1): "Then I . . . saw all the oppressions that are done . . . and behold the tears of such as were oppressed . . . and on the side of their oppressors there was power."

Can certain members and supporters of our present Cabinet read this extract without a "crick in the throat"? Not if they have any sincerity about them.

J. M.

Altrincham, March 10, 1913.

A LIBERAL REBEL

We are glad to print the following letter, which was sent to a Liberal daily paper, but has not appeared in its columns:—

Dear Sir,—Instead of calling upon the Government to exercise its reserve powers in suppressing the above agitation, you would have served the cause of progress better if, in the past, you had exposed and denounced the dishonest tactics that succeeded in "torpedoing" the Conciliation Bill; also, if you had countered with more vigour the discreditable manœuvres that had for their object the wrecking of the women's suffrage amendments to the defunct Franchise Bill. Nor do I remember that you said one word to show abhorrence of the brutalities of the Welsh crowd at Llanystumdwy, nor disapproval of the subsequent failures of the Welsh magistrates to punish some of the offenders. Neither did you utter one word of protest, as far as I remember, when the Government turned its back on its Liberal traditions and refused to recognise differences between political and other offences, in striking contrast to the Liberals' protests during Mr. Balfour's Irish Administration. By your failure in not properly instructing the public on all these points you share the guilt with the Government for the present state of affairs. I have in the past been a Liberal worker, but intend to sever my connection with a party in whom I have lost faith.—Yours, &c.,

T. Trafford.

(Hon. Secretary, St. Michael's
Liberal Club, Kingsdown,
Bristol).

Somerset Cottage, Somerset Street,
Kingsdown, Bristol.

A CLERGYMAN'S PROTEST

The following letter, which was rejected by a Conservative daily, has been sent to us for publication:—

Sir,—It is assumed in many quarters that the recent serious destruction of private property has alienated whatever sympathy on the part of law-abiding citizens the "militants" have hitherto enjoyed; and the Government is being urged in numerous letters and leading articles to stamp out militancy by the ruthless enforcement of the ordinary law, or even by means of coercive legislation specially enacted to meet the present distress. Will you allow me to show cause why this advice should not be followed, and to challenge the assumption of alienated sympathy upon which in some cases it has been based?

I am a law-abiding citizen. In common with all persons who realise how slowly respect for law and order is built up in any community and who count such respect as one of the most valuable assets of civilisation, I am frankly appalled at the events of the past two years. But I am compelled to ask myself, what is the origin of this lawless spirit and of these defiant deeds? When I see a woman, Pleasance Pendred, who has served for years as an elementary school-mistress in a school of which I was at one time a manager, whose exemplary character is known to me, sentenced to four months' imprisonment for destruction of private property, I am quite unable to join in the chorus which ascribes her action to unworthy motives or insurgent hysteria; and I find an explanation of her conduct compatible with what I know of her admirable character in the history of the women's agitation during the past fifty years, and more especially in the treatment which our present Government has dealt out to women's demand for enfranchisement.

Reason for Defiant Deeds

If any of your readers are unfamiliar with the facts they will find them set forth in last week's Votes for Women, and I will not trespass on your space by recounting them. Briefly, however, it may be said that no constitutional agitation for reform has ever been carried on with greater energy, or secured a larger measure of enlightened support, and no demand for reform has ever been met with such trickery and evasion. Rightly or wrongly, many women have been driven to believe that there is no prospect of their enfranchisement as the outcome of constitutional agitation; and very reluctantly, at great cost to themselves, inspired by the loftiest motives of unselfish service, they have deliberately set themselves to harass the Government and the public until their demand is granted.

Believing their demand to be just, convinced that their motives are pure, and feeling that their despair of a constitutional solution has been provoked by unexampled duplicity on the part of the Government, I am by no means prepared to assent to the proposition that "militancy" must be stamped out at any cost. If every fresh "outrage" shocks my sense of order, every fresh attempt at repression still more deeply shocks my sense of justice. I do not pretend to statesmanship; but does not common sense tell us that the only true method of dealing with disorder in the State is to remedy the injustice from which it springs?

Therefore if the Government determines upon unremedied injustice and repression they will count in vain upon the support of those who, disliking disorder, dislike injustice still more. If the Government were of one mind upon this subject matters might be different. I can well believe that sober opinion would support a Cabinet in repressing disorder if that Cabinet maintained, with evident sincerity, that injustice did not exist. But injustice is confessed and bewailed by half the Cabinet and by more than half the Commons; and public opinion will not in the long run support men who refuse to remedy a grievance which they acknowledge and attempt to crush by repressive measures a revolt which they have themselves provoked.—Yours faithfully,

(Rev.) F. M. Green.

St. Mark's Vicarage, Tollington Park, N.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN MINNESOTA

It will be remembered that the proposal to submit to the electors of Minnesota a Woman Suffrage amendment to the constitution was carried in the Lower House of their Legislature by the fine majority of 80 to 37, but was lost in the Senate. "A. S. B.," in the *Woman's Journal* (Boston), comments thus on the situation: "But the opponents of equal rights stole a march on them when the measure came before the Senate for the second time. They brought it up unexpectedly, at a time when many of the Senators in favour of it were absent, and thus succeeded in defeating it by a decisive vote.

"The vicious elements are rejoicing that the men of Minnesota will not at present have a chance to decide whether they are willing to admit their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters to a status of political equality with themselves. But the rejoicing of the forces of evil is short-sighted. Public opinion in favour of equal suffrage is growing all the time, and growing fast. The later the suffragists and anti-suffragists join battle at the polls, the surer the anti-suffragists are to get whipped. Nevertheless, they prefer to put off the contest as long as they can. Their attitude recalls a recent item in *Puck*:

"Village Grocer: 'What are you running for, sonny?'

"Boy: 'I'm tryin' to keep two fellers from fightin'.'

"Village Grocer: 'Who are the fellows?'

"Boy: 'Bill Perkins and me!'"

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ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Out of the twelve women candidates who offered themselves for election at the London County Council elections last week, two were returned, Miss Adler and Miss Susan Lawrence, both of whom are Suffragists. The failure of the Independent Moderate candidate, run by Mrs. Humphry Ward's Local Government branch of the Anti-Suffrage League, to secure more than 150 votes scarcely bears out the contention of Miss Gladys Pott, honorary secretary of the N.L.O.W.S., who is reported to have said, when interviewed on the results of the whole election: "Women didn't vote because they are ashamed of their sex. The poor show the women candidates made is due to the disgust felt by men and women for the militant tactics of some of the Suffragists."

Some Interesting Statistics

Mrs. Eleanor Acland, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, dealing with this contention of the Anti-Suffragists that the political parties will not adopt woman candidates because the unpopularity of Woman Suffrage endangers the success of the party ticket, says:—

"With a view to ascertaining whether this theory is well grounded, it is worth while to examine the last voting in the nine London constituencies where women were standing with a male colleague on an identical party ticket. And it must be remembered that these elections took place when there was much anger roused among the general public by the excesses of the militants, at a time therefore when, if ever, there should have been an apparent falling off in the voting for women candidates.

"Taking then these nine constituences, we find that in five (Chelsea, Central Hackney, North Kensington, West Marylebone, Westminster) the woman standing on the same party ticket as the man received, on the average, 47 more votes; in four cases (Dulwich, East Marylebone, Poplar, Woolwich) the woman under similar circumstances received an average of 48 votes less than the man. These figures dispose of the theory that to nominate a woman candidate endangers the triumph of the principles for which the party so acting stands. The disheartening obstacles put in the way of women who desire to serve the public on local governing bodies cannot be due to a knowledge of any feeling among the electorate against women's public work; they are the result of mere prejudice and selfishness in the men's party caucuses.

"The case against those who maintain that the agitation for woman suffrage is injuring the chances of women in the L.C.C. would not be so strong were it not that practically all these nine women are known to be woman suffragists."

The Anti-Suffrage Fiasco

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says:—

"A good deal is being said about the collapse of Mrs. Humphry Ward's local government branch of the Anti-Suffrage League at the County Council elections. Never was an organisation started with a greater flourish of trumpets than was this body. Practically all the prominent anti-suffrage M.P.'s united to give it a benediction. Its failure is shown not only or chiefly by the fact that its candidate, an avowed anti-suffragist, who stood as an Independent Moderate for Hoxton, only obtained about 150 votes, in spite of Mrs. Ward's letter in the *Times*, but in the pitiful failure of its organisers to obtain nominations of anti-suffrage women by the Municipal Reform caucus. On the other hand, two suffragist women, one of whom was the official Labour candidate for Poplar, were triumphantly returned. The moral of the fiasco is to show that anti-suffragists (apart from Mrs. Ward and her friends), while willing to talk on the subject, have no serious intention to help women to obtain places on local authorities, and to show also that the only hope of finding women places on such bodies lies in co-operation with the old Women's Local Government Association or with the Labour party."

WOMEN AS SOLICITORS

Writs have now been issued against the Law Society claiming the right of women to be admitted to the solicitors' profession, on behalf of four women who thus wish to make a test case of the question. They are Miss Bebb, Miss Costello, Miss Ingram, and Miss Nettlefold, and they base their claim on a clause in the Solicitors' Act of 1843, which states that "every word importing the masculine gender only shall extend and be applied to a female as well." We heartily wish them success in their plucky attempt to throw open to woman a profession which, both for reasons of justice and of expediency, ought no longer to be closed to qualified women.

THE WIFE'S ECONOMIC POSITION

"I see the women are going to wear mediæval costumes in that suffragette parade," remarked Mr. Wombat pleasantly. "What are you going to wear, my dear?"

"My mediæval hat," said Mrs. Wombat significantly.

And there were no further remarks.—**London Opinion.**

COMING EVENTS

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a public meeting at Winchelsea to-day (Friday), at 8 p.m.; speakers, Mr. Joseph Clayton and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck. The Society also announce an At Home at their office, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on Tuesday, March 18, at 3 p.m., when Mrs. Vulliamy will speak on "The Protection of Girls."

As stated in our last week's issue, the Church League for Women's Suffrage announce a special service at St. George's, Bloomsbury, on Saturday, March 15, at 3.30 p.m.; the preacher will be the Rev. F. M. Green. The League will hold a public meeting on Monday, March 17, at 8.30 p.m. at St. Mark's Hall, Wimbledon; speakers, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Powell, Dr. Helen Hanson, and Mrs. Cecil Walsh.

The Jewish League for Women Suffrage will hold a special meeting for members and friends at 2, Orme Court, W., on Sunday, March 16, at 3.15; chairman, Dr. Myer Nathan, LL.D.; speakers, the Rev. Harry Lewis, M.A., and Mr. Herbert Cohen.

The *Daily Herald* League announce a plain and fancy dress dance to be held at the Bow Baths Hall, Roman Road, Bow, on St. Patrick's night, Monday, March 17, from 8 p.m. to 1 a.m. Six prizes are offered, three for men and three for women, for the best fancy dresses. All profits go to the *Daily Herald*, which is in urgent need of funds. Tickets: dancing 1s., gallery 3d., obtainable at the Hall, or from W. H. Broadbear, Secretary, 62, Elginton Road, Bow.

The Women's Freedom League are to hold the second of a series of lectures at the Caxton Hall on Monday, March 17, at 8 p.m., when Miss Helena Normantan, B.A., will speak on English Reform Bills.

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold their usual monthly meeting at the Criterion on Friday, April 4, and a Grand Meeting at Drury Lane Theatre on Friday, May 2 (by permission of Mr. Arthur Collins and Mr. Forbes Robertson).

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold their April meeting at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Monday, April 7. The speakers will be Mr. Victor Duval and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

◆

TEACHERS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

For the third year in succession the Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers will, at Easter, have the question of woman suffrage brought before them. The Conference this year will be held at Weston-super-Mare. A correspondent informs us that the resolution, which the Executive of the N.U.T. have twice already brought before this Conference (at Aberystwyth in 1911 and at Hull in 1912), has recently been passed by the National Federation of Women Teachers. The resolution expresses "sympathy with those members of the N.U.T. who desire to possess and exercise the Parliamentary Franchise, but because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it." At Aberystwyth, Standing Orders were to have been set aside for its discussion, but three-fourths of the delegates were men, and the suspension of Standing Orders was not granted. Last year a second effort was made to get the N.U.T. support for women teachers at Hull, but the Previous Question was carried; there was again a great preponderance of men delegates.

◆

THE BOAT RACE UNDER POLICE PROTECTION

The Oxford and Cambridge boat race will be rowed on Thursday, March 13, after we go to press. The greatest excitement seems to prevail both in the daily press and in the vicinity of the course as to whether the Suffragists will succeed in stopping the race, as it is reported they have threatened to do. It seems that for some time past the most extraordinary precautions have been taken to ensure the safety of the boats, a force of something like twenty men having been on continuous night and day duty near the headquarters of the London and Leander Rowing Clubs, where the two boats are housed, and the doors of the boathouses have been kept firmly barred. The course is to be patrolled by police boats, and rowing clubs have also been asked to assist with as many boats as possible. What needless trouble and expense all this entails, and how the whole country is being held up when even her sports have to take place under police protection! And how much simpler to give women the vote!

◆

SUFFRAGETTES "HOAXED"

When Suffragettes suffered violence in the early days of the militant agitation, they were called violent. When tradespeople are victims of a hoax practised upon them by the Anti-Suffragists (we refer to the Theodore Hook and Berners Street hoax played on the W.S.P.U. last Tuesday), it is the Suffragettes who again, by this Elizabethan mode of reasoning, are said to be the hoaxed ones. As a matter of fact, as the London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says, "a political society which advocates window-breaking and worse things to advertise its cause will not be seriously annoyed by being made the talk of London. The jokers, indeed, seem really to have been working strenuously for the Union. The people who were hoaxed were the tradespeople, who always seem to suffer in their relations with this particular body of suffragists."

◆

MR. FORBES ROBERTSON AND THE BROWN WOMEN

Last Sunday morning Mr. and Mrs. Forbes Robertson, who had been appearing at the Bournemouth theatre during the week, granted an interview to the local members of the Qui Vive Corps, who presented a bouquet, tied in the Corps' colours, to Mrs. Forbes Robertson. The Brown Women, with their green cockades and badges, aroused considerable interest as they drove through the town to the Chine Hotel, where the presentation was made by Miss Levern on behalf of the Corps. Mr. and Mrs. Forbes-Robertson were on the point of departure for London, but very kindly spared a few minutes to chat with the members of the party.

◆

DEMAND FOR A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

The following resolution, moved by Lady Betty Balfour and seconded by Miss Bagley, was carried unanimously at Dublin on March 4, by the Irish branch of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting a Government measure is the only satisfactory way of dealing with the question of the enfranchisement of women."

The *Irish Citizen* comments thus:—"It would indeed have been curious if the only association to accept the Government's 'pledge' should have been that which, from its party-political character, can most easily oppose the Liberal Government."

◆

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters Association.
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
39, Aberdeen Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political Reform League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James's.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, March 14, 3.30, 6.15. Mrs. Rackham, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Maude Royden, on "Education," Miss Frances Sterling.

THE SECOND of a SERIES of LECTURES at Caxton Hall will be given Monday, March 17, 8 p.m. Lecturer: Miss Helena Normanton, B.A. (Lond.). Subject: "English Reform Bills." Further particulars and tickets: 2s. 6d. and 1s. reserved, 6d. unreserved, to be obtained from Women's Freedom League's Offices, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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